PRESS CONFERENCES

OF

THE PRESIDENT

1943 -- JULY 1 TO DECEMBER 31

J. Romagna (PCs 907 to 929)
OFFICIAL REPORTER

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #907
Executive Office of the President
July 9, 1943 -- 10.47 P.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: Steve (Early) says I haven't got a blessed thing.

Q. Is there anything you can tell us, sir, about your conferences with General (Henri Honore) Giraud?

THE PRESIDENT: No. We had a little talk at lunch yesterday -- talked about various military problems.

Q. Mr. President, in that connection, you may have noticed some comments in the press to the effect that in the present course with reference to Giraud and (General Charles) De Gaulle, we are unduly interfering with French political affairs. Do you care to comment on those comments?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't think so.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, is there any ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) The only -- only one comment I might make is this, that you used the word "French"; but I suppose 95 percent of France is still under the heel of the Germans in France.

Q. Can you say, Mr. President, whether we are going to recognize the French National Committee?

THE PRESIDENT: There isn't any France at the present time, except five percent outside of France.

Q. Yes, sir, but there is a French National Committee.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Oh Yes.

Q. (continuing) Do you care to say whether ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I don't think the question has come up.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything on this eight-cent rail wage controversy?

THE PRESIDENT: What controversy?

Q. The eight-cent rail wage controversy?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, they are going ahead on it. I don't know, the thing -- it's in the condition of being discussed back and forth. I don't think there will be any news until the beginning of the week.

Q. Mr. President, are you in a position to comment on the planning that is being put up to take care of employment after the war?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so, except the thing is -- the thing is being studied. What we are trying to do is get an orderly procedure -- policy for it. That is one of the reasons we have always been in favor of the Executive branch of the Government having some kind of planning. There are a lot of people who don't want to plan. We have to recognize that also.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us something about this vacancy on the F.C.C. (Federal Communications Commission), the nomination of Mr. (George Henry) Payne on one day, and his ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I have seen various guesses. So far, they have all been wrong.

Q. Can you tell us what the right one is?

THE PRESIDENT: No. (laughter)

MAY CRAIG: Mr. President, would you care to express yourself on the work of the Session of Congress just completed?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't think so, May. They have got, still, a lot to do when they come back in September.

Q. Mr. President, anything to say on subsidies?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Food subsidies?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I may have something to say on that later on. I don't think today is a good day to say it.

Q. Sir, could you say anything about this urgent deficiency bill that has all these people's money tied up?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know, it hasn't got to me yet. It has passed, you know, but before it comes down there is quite a long lag.

Q. We understood that it was before you day before yesterday.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it has gone to the various departments.

Q. Mr. President, is the Government going to make any effort to seek full compliance with John L. Lewis in the coal case?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, exactly what do you mean?

Q. Well, the W.L.B. (War Labor Board) asked him to sign a contract, and they seem to feel that full compliance would call for some Governmental re-affirmation of that order to sign a contract, presumably by yourself?

THE PRESIDENT: What would you order -- what would the affirmation be?

Q. Well, they seem to -- to want some White House statement asking Mr. Lewis to sign this contract.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, it is -- after all it's the action by a quasi-judicial body, which speaks for itself. What kind of action would I take?

Q. That's what I was asking.

THE PRESIDENT: What? Send a polite longhand note on pink notepaper and say, "Dear Mr. Lewis, I hope you will sign it"? And then if he doesn't, what happens?

Q. Well, I think that's what the War Labor Board was putting up to the White House.

THE PRESIDENT: Their order, so their decision -- that is perfectly obvious. I don't see any use in writing pink notes to say, "Please conform with the decision of a Government agency." There has been a lot of rot talked about that. It's a definite order.

Q. What will be done if Mr. Lewis doesn't conform, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, what would you do?

Q. I don't know, sir. I am not President.

(laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: You know, it would be an awfully difficult thing if I were to order some of you to sign your name to something, and you said "No." Do you know any law in which I can acquire his manual signature? There's an awful lot of rot been printed about the whole thing.

Q. Mr. President, you secured the signature of Sewell Avery to the Montgomery Ward contract by asking him to sign the contract and maintenance of membership, and presumably he signed because of the threat of possible Government sanctions, and ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) There were -- there were Governmental sanctions in that case. I didn't want to take over Montgomery Ward, obviously. (laughter) But I did have the authority to take it over. Now, I don't think that there's a similar authority for the Government to take over the United Mine Workers.

Q. Well, do you feel you need, sir, then some sanctions with which you can deal with recalcitrant unions?

THE PRESIDENT: With what?

Q. Do you feel that you need some sanctions by which ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) My God, read section eight of the recent (Connally-Smith anti-strike) law, and the first seven sections.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(Notebook PC-XIV -- Page 164 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #908
Executive Office of the President
July 13, 1943 -- 4.07 P.M., E.W.T.

Q. (with bandaged left ear) Howdy!

THE PRESIDENT: Cut yourself?

Q. No, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Somebody bite it?

Q. Yes, sir -- a bug. (laughter)

MR. EARLY: (adding) With a gold tooth.

Q. I won't go into the gender.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I won't ask. (more laughter)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have got two or three things here that are -- a statement for the 14th of July (Bastille Day), and I think it has been given you for release tonight at nine o'clock.

Then, I have appointed a comptroller of the currency, at the request of the Community War Fund Committee, to assume the duties of chairman of the Government unit during the current year. I think you all know him. (Mr. Preston Delano) He will do a very excellent job there.

Then, I will anticipate somebody's question which I know somebody is going to ask. I did know that Governor (Rexford G.) Tugwell of Puerto Rico is coming up here for a short visit, and I expect to see him when he comes.

Then, on -- what I was talking about the other day, just for your information, I am asking you to read two things. Section three of the War Labor Disputes Act provides that the Government shall return possession -- it doesn't say of coal mines, but things that have been taken over -- plants taken over by the Government -- to their owners, quote, "as soon as practicable, but in no event more than sixty days after the restoration of the productive efficiency thereof prevailing prior to the taking of the possession thereof."

Well, that's -- that's the law; and the Government certainly will comply with the law.

In case anybody wants to know whether the -- what happens to the employees out -- who went out on strike, if you read the law it also provides for such an emergency, specifying the giving of notice, and so on and so forth. That's that section eight.

And the only other thing I have got is the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation Act. I am going to send a Message to the Congress -- both Houses -- when they reconvene two months from now; and I might just as well tell you what I am going to say to them now -- (laughter) -- it will be a long ways off and people may have forgotten all about it. (more laughter)

(what follows is not the exact wording
contained in the Message)

This is the Act that fires three people who are now in the employ of the Government, by name, unless they -- a new appointment is confirmed by the -- by the Senate. Well, I felt obliged to approve the Act as a whole because this appropriates funds that were essential to carry on the activities of the -- almost every part of the Government during the recess of the Congress. If I had been able to veto the objectionable rider that was attached, I would have done so, but of course it would have delayed essential war appropriations, and I didn't get the Act itself until, I think, about the moment that Congress was going home.

The rider prohibits any Government department or agency from employing at any time in the future, after November 15, these three named individuals who are now employed by different Government agencies, unless they go through the processes of new appointments, and being confirmed by the Senate. There is no suggestion that the three named individuals have not loyally and competently performed all the duties for which they were employed. They are sought to be disqualified from Federal employment because of political opinions attributed to them.

Now, the provision aimed at these people does not define the offices they hold, and does not seek to make appointments for those offices subject to Senate approval, which three individuals might be any office -- might be a member of the Supreme Court. That is an interesting idea. They might be a member of the Cabinet.

As a matter of fact, the clause permitting them to remain in Government employment, subject to Presidential appointment, was inserted only after the Senate refused to accept the prior provision in the House bill requiring their immediate removal from Government employment and permanent disqualification for all time to come from the Federal service. The Senate rejected the compromise as incorporated in this bill at one time, and agreed to it only after the House conferees had refused to agree to any bill without a provision aimed at the removal of these three people. The Senate yielded, as I have been forced to yield, to avoid delaying our conduct of the war.

Well, I cannot so yield without placing on record the view that this provision is not only unwise and definitely discriminatory, but also it is unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court sometime ago defined a bill of attainder -- which, as you probably know, is forbidden by the Constitution of the United States -- as, quote, "a legislative act which inflicts punishment without judicial trial."

The rider in this bill operates perpetually to disqualify these three named individuals from holding office in Government, unless they are nominated by the President and later confirmed by the Senate. The bill is directed at named individuals and not at specified statutory offices. No judicial trials have been held. No impeachment proceedings have been instituted; and, of course, under the Constitution, there is a definite provision in the Constitution for impeachment. And that is the only removal-from-office clause, which is in the Constitution of the United States; and it has been used a good many times, we all know, in cases of -- Oh, in the last ten years, in the cases of one or two judges.

The rider is an unwarranted encroachment on the authority of both the Judicial and the Executive branches, under the Constitution. The rider is not, in my judgment, binding upon them.

Well, I think that's all.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, does that mean ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Now -- wait a minute. One at a time. (laughter)

Q. Does that mean they will stay in office?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I am just giving you that, Pete (Brandt). (laughter)

Q. You said it is not binding.

Q. Mr. President, are you developing plans for the reorganization of the foreign purchasing program of the B.E.W. (Board of Economic Warfare) and the R.F.C. (Reconstruction Finance Corporation), as a means of resolving the dispute between the Vice President and Secretary of Commerce Jones?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't got any news on that.

Q. Mr. President, Senator (George L.) Radcliffe (Democrat of Maryland) said this morning that he had suggested that you go on the air. Have you anything in mind?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I will some day, between now and January first -- '44. (laughter)

Q. Pretty soon, I judge he meant.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, there isn't ----. Between now and January first.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, will you ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Probably. You had better insert probably, just to be on the safe side. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, will you appoint these three men as required in these bills?

THE PRESIDENT: As I told Pete, I think what I said covers it all.

Q. Mr. President, regarding Governor Tugwell, there are reports that he will be appointed to some position here on the mainland. Will you comment on that, or will he go back to Puerto Rico?

THE PRESIDENT: I think I will go back to what I said before.

Q. Mr. President, at the Giraud dinner the other night, you were quoted as saying we must eliminate Germany. Did you mean Germany as a fighting force, or did that also apply to the post-war world?

THE PRESIDENT: O my God, what a question! I "ain't" no delphic oracle. I don't know. I think you can -- you can -- I think, really, it's a waste of time, and I think it takes people's thoughts off winning the war to talk about things like that now.

Let's win the war.

Isn't it a good slogan?

Q. Do you have any plans for a radio speech?

THE PRESIDENT: A what? (much laughter)

Q. A radio speech?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know -- it depends on whether I'm a "regular guy."

Q. Mr. President, can you say whether we have bombed Paramushiro in the Pacific (Japanese Kurile Islands)?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. Didn't the Secretary of the Navy decline to say anything about it?

Q. I thought maybe he was letting you answer that one? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I think I will follow the Secretary. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, will we get copies of that statement on the three executive men?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so, Pete (Brandt), because I -- while this is what I read from, it is actually the Message to Congress.

Q. That's the Message to Congress you are going to send to Congress?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes. I don't think I will give you a copy, because that would not be courtesy.

Q. There have been some suggestions in some official quarters about taking over the packing industry, in connection with new food distribution plans. Do you have any thoughts on that?

THE PRESIDENT: I wonder where that idea came to -- from?

Q. It's a hot weather idea. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I think so. (adding) I hope not.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything new on the railway eight-cent case?

THE PRESIDENT: No. They are studying it -- still working at it.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, sir.

(Notebook PC-XIV -- Page 172 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #909
Executive Office of the President
July 16, 1943 -- 11.05 A.M., E.W.T.

MR. EARLY: Sleepy?

Q. Everybody is.

MR. EARLY: He didn't realize what he did to you! (see end of press conference)

Q. Somebody ought to tell him. (laughter)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I think that those of you who have been here a long time will share my sorrow in the loss of Rudolph Forster, whom I have known since my earliest days. It will be a great loss to us, but fortunately we have his righthand assistant Maurice Latta, who has been here about as long as Rudolph was.

Maurice Latta also has been a trainer of many Presidents. He is going to take Rudolph's place.

He also is a very old friend of mine, whom I have known since the earlier days of T.R.'s administration; and there will be no trouble about his fitting into the position of Rudolph.

Then, in his place, we are bringing in from upstairs, although he has been down helping more or less in the last two or three years, Mr. William J. Hopkins, whom many of you know. He will take the place immediately under Maurice Latta.

Then, this morning you have all got -- last night, rather -- the statement of Mr. Churchill and myself to the people of Italy. No (further) particular news in that.

Yesterday we had a very delightful gift and a letter from the President of Brazil (Getulio Vargas), of which I will read the translation.

(reading): "To His Excellency. Dear Friend: As Dr. Salgado Filho, my Air Minister, is visiting your country, I am taking this opportunity of transmitting through him my best wishes and friendship, and also offering the glorious forces of the United States four hundred thousand sacks of coffee -- (laughter) -- to be used exclusively on the war front, and as a contribution from the Brazilian people to the brave soldiers of your country."

If you want a copy of that -- Steve, you might -- you may.

Q. Mr. President, there happen to be twelve Brazilian journalists here, and they are all in the back of the room. I think as hospitable North Americans we might ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Well, I think ---

Q. (continuing) --- get them up to the front row.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) -- I think it's time that we could accord a little tribute to the President and the people of Brazil. (and here the President started to applaud) Give them a hand. (warm applause) I hope to see them at the end of the conference.

Q. Mr. President, just for the record, that Italian story did not break last night, it broke at six-thirty this morning. (much laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but you had it last night.

Q. Well, it's the first time most of us have been up at that time. (more laughter) But on that subject, the statement by you and the Prime Minister is popularly regarded as an ultimatum. Is there any time limit on when the Italian people should get out of the war?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know why it's popularly regarded as an ultimatum. I don't think there's any popular opinion on it yet, anyway.

Q. You would be surprised! (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: So far, you are not saying you are expressing popular opinion?

Q. Oh No, sir. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us what happens to Milo Perkins under the reorganization ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I think you will have to ask Mr. (Leo T.) Crowley (new Office of Economic Warfare head).

Q. What?

Q. (aside) Crowley.

Q. Will Mr. Crowley remain as Alien Property Custodian, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I think for a while.

Q. Would you care to discuss, Mr. President, any of the changes in the foreign -- in the administration of foreign economic policy; that is, the overseas operations that you have in mind as a result of this change?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I am quite ready. You know we did -- we did set up -- I think you all got it about the third of July -- the State Department was asked to set up a -- I don't know whether through a bureau or a man over there who would -- whose duty would be to coordinate primarily the various civilian foreign workers -- Americans -- of the various agencies overseas. Well, that was aimed to bring together, in let us say North Africa, the Red Cross, and the B.E.W. (Board of Economic Warfare), and the S.O.S. (Services of Supply), and the relief -- Lehman -- organization. I don't know, maybe several others, but that is a field problem, ---

Q. (interjecting) Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- and this other thing, of course, under Mr. Crowley, is a domestic problem.

Q. No changes in the overseas end of it, so far as you see?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us any plans for the disposition of the Commodity Credit bill?

THE PRESIDENT: It has been signed, hasn't it? (looking in Mr. Early's direction) I think so.

Q. We had it.

Q. That was in the Deficiency bill, wasn't it?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. That was in the Deficiency bill, wasn't it?

Q. No.

Q. I thought there was a separate appropriation extending the borrowing power of the Commodity Credit Corporation?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, Yes. That's the resolution, I think.

Q. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: I am -- I am not sure that I have physically signed it or not.

MR. EARLY: No, Mr. President, it hasn't been signed.

THE PRESIDENT: I am waiting -- I am going to make a statement along with it.

Q. Mr. President, there has been a report coordinating these overseas activities under the Assistant Secretary of State -- the new Assistant Secretary of State. Is that true?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it's under Mr. Acheson. I think so. I am not sure, ---

Q. (interjecting) Mr. Acheson.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- you had better check.

Q. Can you say anything about the report that Dexter Keezer (President of Reed College, Oregon) is going to London as assistant to Averell Harriman?

THE PRESIDENT: Who?

Q. Dexter Keezer. Dexter Keezer.

Q. Of O.P.A.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I haven't heard anything about it.

Since the last (press) conference, we have had one development which has worked out fairly well. We have had the problem in Martinique and Guadalupe and several other islands down there -- French islands -- and we had a somewhat -- what shall I say? -- somewhat difficult problem in Admiral (Georges) Robert -- a very polite way of saying it. And there were a great many people, even a lot of isolationists, who wanted us immediately to go down there with a great battle fleet and a landing force and take Martinique and Guadalupe, with a lot of bloodshed and so forth, at the same time buying a large-sized headache in the actual running of those French islands.

And -- Oh -- for about two years now we have just been taking it on the chin, keeping quiet. We wanted to avoid bloodshed, and we hoped that the matter would be peacefully resolved without landing an expedition and various military operations, which would, of course, if we had done it, have cut into the overall important war picture.

So we -- we waited it out, and we got a base on balls -- (laughter) -- which we hoped we would get from the very beginning.

And now it seems quite clear that practically every part of the French Empire has joined in working in the common cause for the defeat of Germany and the liberation of France itself.

As you know, we have kept aloof and away from the internal political side of affairs, especially in Axis-occupied countries, and we have consistently refused to become involved in political rivalries and political ambitions of individuals or -- or groups.

Well, out of it, of course, has come all kinds of vicious propaganda attacking the State Department and the Government as a whole. And there were many unfair, and -- well, I will use another polite word -- incorrect rumors, reports and statements, that were derogatory to a perfectly well-ordered plan that goes back several years. I don't think I need say anything more about that.

We have had a consistent policy since the fall of France, our effort being the preservation of the French fleet and the naval and air bases from falling into Axis hands, until last November when the Axis occupied the balance of France. The French lost their fleet; but in the meantime we had got the landing under way successfully concluded in North Africa, and have been working in close cooperation with all Frenchmen everywhere who were patriotically resisting the Axis powers, and who have been working to encourage the people of France -- Occupied France -- to keep thoroughly alive the principles of liberty and freedom. And, so far, it has worked pretty well.

I don't think I have anything else.

Q. Mr. President, I don't know whether this has any local connotation. You had an hour-and-a-half conversation day before yesterday, I think, with Senator Bennett (Champ) Clark ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Oh No -- Oh No -- Oh No. Oh No, your timing is wrong, Pete (Brandt).

Q. Four to five-thirty.

THE PRESIDENT: No. He spent the first three-quarters of the hour in the other office -- (indicating General Watson's office). (laughter)

I had a very nice talk with him, and -- well, your local connotation is a good -- I saw it printed, but not exactly correct. We talked principally about a thing that we are all interested in; that is, post-war air. I think he is the chairman of the subcommittee.

Q. Right.

Q. Is he?

Q. Any agreement reached about ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Oh, No. The whole thing is in a very, very tentative stage. We have hardly come to that -- as definite a thing like that. A good many other things like it -- you do a certain amount of studying.

Q. Did he say anything about the prospective air conference? Has that been postponed?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know, Pete. Was it ever given a time?

Q. Never given a time.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think it ever has been.

Q. Was up for fairly soon.

THE PRESIDENT: I -- frankly, I don't know. I haven't thought of it for months.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, sir.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Let's go, fellows.

(much laughter)

MR. EARLY: (to the President) Those boys didn't get that last night. (the story on Italy)

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. EARLY: They didn't get that last night.

THE PRESIDENT: Didn't they get it?

MR. EARLY: No. They were called at six-thirty this morning, after working all night on the other thing. (the story on the new Office of Economic Warfare)

THE PRESIDENT: But it went all right.

(laughter)

(Notebooks PC-XIV -- Page 183, and PC-XV -- Page 1 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #910
Executive Office of the President
July 23, 1943 -- 10.56 A.M., E.W.T.

Q. Good morning, Mr. President. (the President waved his hand in acknowledgement)

THE PRESIDENT: (to Merriman Smith, remembering his question last week re popular opinion on the statement to the Italian people) How are the people today?

MR. MERRIMAN SMITH: (a little puzzled) The people? Fine. (laughter)

Q. He has got them all sized up.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. He has got them all sized up.

THE PRESIDENT: I had to rag you on that. It was too good a chance to miss. (more laughter)

MR. MERRIMAN SMITH: You did, too.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: Steve (Early) says I have nothing.

Q. Mr. President, is there any comment on the Pope's letter on the bombing of Rome?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't had any communication whatsoever.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can say regarding talks between the United Nations, regarding post-war disposition of Germany?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think there's anything on that. There's a lot of suggestions been made for the last two or three years. There's absolutely nothing to go on.

Q. Would this answer cover, sir, any comment on the establishment of that Free Germany Committee in Moscow?

THE PRESIDENT: I have had nothing official on it.

Q. Mr. President, when the labor leaders came out of your office yesterday, they said they handed you a statement which they said they had given you, saying that unless there were substantial roll-backs in the near future, that they couldn't go along with the wage and stabilization program.

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't put it that way. I don't think they meant it that way. The way you have put it, it sounds like an ultimatum. There is nothing like that of any kind.

Of course, what the situation was on that -- that question was, of course, to food -- is that it hasn't been put back to last September 15. And if any bright person can come along and tell us exactly how the law is to be carried out in that respect, we would be very grateful.

You remember the October 2nd law. It intended to stabilize the cost of food and stabilize the cost of wages. Now they are in a predicament, just as everybody else is. It hasn't been put back. It has been held fairly level on the main articles -- the essential articles of food.

And as you know, we are working now on new plans, to see how far we can accomplish the objective of the law. Probably, whatever plan is adopted would have to be put up to Congress, because it will cost money. They are, as I say --

they are in a predicament, and so are all of us -- just people who have had their salaries raised lately.

Q. Mr. President, have you had any indications from neutral or other sources of the effect of the appeal that you and Mr. Churchill made to the Italian people?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No.

Q. Mr. President, is there any comment you can make, sir, upon establishing Rome as an open city?

THE PRESIDENT: I think the easiest thing is to tell you in general what has been happening for the past -- Oh -- over a year.

We have been very anxious to have Rome declared an -- an open city. However, the Italians -- the Fascists would not do it; and on the contrary, it has become -- probably was then -- a very important military center. That means the making of munitions, and the use of airports very close to Rome -- actually in Rome, and the use of Rome because it's a railroad center for transportation of troops, and guns -- ammunition, down to the southern -- to the south of Rome.

And we used every argument, and pleaded that it be made an open city.

But it didn't work.

We did our best.

And we still hope that the Germans and the Fascists will -- will make it an open city.

Then, of course, it came to the point of Sicily, and I had to think about American boys; and it seemed perfectly clear that all of the American troops, and the British troops, in Sicily were -- that their -- their danger was being made greater by the constant influx of troops, and ammunition, and guns, and planes from the north. And one of the main centers of supply for all that, of course, were the airplane fields, and the -- especially the marshalling yard in Rome.

And with the primary objective of saving American and British lives, the more we could prevent that traffic from operating without interruption the better it would be for American troops; and the particular bombing was, of course, very successful.

But I still hope that Rome can be made an open city.

I am not going into the quid pro quo question, because I don't think that really is the point, in the last analysis. The -- with the aid of Italians, the Germans had destroyed something like four thousand churches -- the majority of the four thousand were churches, hospitals and libraries -- in Britain. There wasn't any compunction there. But I don't think that really is the essential of the thing -- in other words, I don't believe in destruction merely -- merely for retaliation, it's the wrong basis to put it on. But destruction for the saving of the lives of our men in a great war sometimes is an inevitable necessity.

Well, I don't -- I don't know that there is anything much to add to that.

Q. Are these efforts being continued, Mr.

President?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Are the efforts being continued -- are the efforts to have it made an open city being continued?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, only -- only in this sense, that everybody knows what our position is. It has been made so clear for over a year.

Q. Well, sir, can this be interpreted as an implementation of your remarks to us at some time in the past, when you warned in effect the Italians, that if they did not get out of the war and overthrow their Fascist masters, that they would have to take the consequences?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think the two things should be confused. They are really separate things. One is the problem of -- of the entire nation, which is what you are referring to now, and the other is the problem of a city which is venerated all over the world.

MAY CRAIG: Mr. President, do you have any comment on Mr. Ickes's speech on bureaucrats?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know -- I don't know what you are talking about.

MAY CRAIG: Well, didn't you hear about it?

THE PRESIDENT: No! (much laughter)

MAY CRAIG: A wonderful speech. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: May, you must read almost everything.

MAY CRAIG: I try to.

Q. Mr. President, you spoke a moment ago about the Government working on new plans to roll back prices. Is there anything that you could say in general ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I don't like -- I don't like the word "rollback." It's an awful word to use. I wish you would invent something else. I don't know.

Q. Have you got any ideas?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Any ideas?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Not yet. Not yet.

Q. Mr. President, sometime ago, when you set up O.W.I. (Office of War Information), you told us that it was for the purpose of, among other things, eliminating conflicting claims and statements by various organizations. This week the War Food Administration told us there would be plenty of eggs, and today O.P.A. (Office of Price Administration) told us there would be a critical shortage of eggs. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I guess it depends a little on where you live. (more laughter)

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I got a lot of eggs up at Hyde Park now. In fact I am actually selling some of them, but I am lucky on that. Not everybody who is as lucky as that.

Q. (interposing) Mr. ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Some places there are shortages of chickens and other places there aren't. And

I think it's a great mistake to use generalities. Well, we found here, not so long ago, there was a shortage of something for a week, wasn't there, May (Craig)? You know about that. And, Oh, screaming headlines all through the papers, whatever the article was that we couldn't buy for a week.

MR. EARLY: Potatoes.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. EARLY: Potatoes.

THE PRESIDENT: Potatoes, that's it.

MAY CRAIG: You wouldn't connect potatoes with me. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: You ought to know about potatoes. (more laughter)

Well, at the end of the week we had more potatoes than we could use.

MR. PAUL LEACH (Chicago Daily News): Mr. President, I have been sorely puzzled by an O.P.A. question, as to why an "A" card motorist should be permitted to take a long trip for a vacation, which would mean from here to Maine and back if you had enough coupons, but he can't drive -- a man who is not taking a vacation can't drive a mile-and-a-half over here to the Rock Creek Park golf course?

THE PRESIDENT: Won't Frank (Knox, Secretary of the Navy, and also publisher of the Chicago Daily News) let you take a vacation? (loud laughter)

I will speak to him about it. (more laughter)

MR. PAUL LEACH: Speak to Prentiss Brown (head of the Office of Price Administration) about it.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(much laughter)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #911
Executive Office of the President
July 27, 1943 -- 4.11 P.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have got something rather dry that we had better talk about first.

In accordance with what I did so often for so many years, we are going to give you, as soon as this conference is over, a confidential release for next Sunday morning's papers, which is a summation of the 1944 Budget, and a comparison of the final figures, on the adjournment of Congress, compared with the January first original Budget estimates. You know we have done that several times before, so it really brings everybody up to date six months later than the original Budget Message.

And it contains ten pages of words -- (some laughter) -- and -- (to himself): 1, 2, 3, 4, -- five pages of very interesting figures -- (laughter) -- in very small type. (more laughter) However, it's a -- it's in accordance with custom, and I think it's pretty good. I have got them to write out a short one-page summary of it here, which I think I had better talk to you -- describe the high-spots.

The Budgetary estimates for the fiscal year 1944 have been revised in the light of legislative and other developments since January. Total expenditures for the year -- that is the fiscal year -- excluding debt retirement and trust fund disbursements, are now estimated at 106 billion dollars, and net receipts at 38 billion. The expected deficit of 68 billion will carry the public debt just above 200 billion by a year from now -- end of June. This deficit -- deficit will of course be reduced if the Congress enacts new revenue legislation.

During the past fiscal year ended June 30, the comparable -- comparable totals were actual expenditures of 80 billion dollars, actual receipts of 22 billion, or a deficit of 58 billion.

Last January's estimate of 100 billion dollars for war expenditures during the fiscal year 1944 still stands. When this amount was announced, some persons thought the program fantastic. The American people are proving that it is feasible. Recent war expenditures have been not far below this annual rate, despite some lags in output. The 100 billion dollars compares with 75 billion dollars that were actually spent for war in the fiscal year 1943. It contemplates an increase for munitions and construction from 56 billion expended last year to 72 billions this year. Spending for other direct war purposes will increase from 19 billion last year to 28 billion during this fiscal year.

In the latest recasting of the program, the War Department is expected to spend less, and the Navy Department and other agencies are expected to spend more for war than was estimated in January. Many factors influenced the revisions. Strategy has been more fully shaped. We now have a more balanced perspective of our military needs and the needs of our Allies.

Comparatively little battle casualties thus far have meant correspondingly fewer replacements.

Damage and loss of material have been less than we prepared for.

Production potentialities can now be more accurately measured.

Continued breaking of bottlenecks permits stepping up certain programs.

The hundred billion dollar war program is a gigantic national effort for victory. Our efforts to finance it must be equally heroic. We have -- that is not meant to be sarcastic, either -- we have depended far too heavily on bank credits and otherwise idle funds. This endangers economic stability. To help avoid inflationary consequences and to spread the war costs more equitably, I recommended last January a truly stiff program of additional taxes and savings, and I continue to support that program. The war effort must be backed by revenue measures adequate to protect the home front against economic disruption, and to prepare for an orderly transition to peace.

Well, I don't believe we need any more "seminar" on that now. You have all got until Sunday morning's papers to study it, and if any questions come up, ask -- ask the Director of the Budget to explain them. Don't ask me. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, what is your reaction to the change in the Italian government? (the sudden resignation of Benito Mussolini on July 25)

THE PRESIDENT: Reaction?

Q. Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: I never have reactions. I am much too old. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, when you were discussing the bombing of Rome last week, did you have the information that Mussolini would make his exit?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No.

Q. Sir, could you tell us whether there is likely to be any change in our unconditional surrender policy, in respect ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Oh, I think the Secretary of State covered all that pretty well yesterday.

Q. Mr. President, if there should be an unconditional surrender, do you think it likely that we might demand of Marshall (Pietro) Badoglio (succeeding Mussolini) that Mussolini be delivered to us?

THE PRESIDENT: That what would be delivered to us?

Q. Mussolini?

THE PRESIDENT: How did you start that sentence? What word?

Q. (aside) Oh -- Oh.

Q. Er ---- (much laughter).

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think it's useful for me to go into the details of hypothetical questions. I could ask

-- in fact, I do ask myself a very large number of hypothetical questions, and I am wise enough not to give myself the answers. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, where is Archbishop (Francis J.) Spellman?

THE PRESIDENT: The last I heard, he was in Portugese East Africa, but that was about -- about a week or ten days ago.

Q. You haven't heard since?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I haven't heard anything.

Q. Sir, would you care to make any comment on (Prime Minister Winston) Churchill's statement to Commons?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I have only read the stuff that came out over the ticker, so far. What I read I like very much.

Q. Sir, is there anything that might be said yet on this proposal to re-establish the office of People's Counsel?

THE PRESIDENT: I asked for an opinion from the Attorney General on it, and I haven't got an answer. You know it's the Attorney General that recommended steadily against filling that post, and I haven't heard from him since then.

Q. You say this Attorney General (Francis Biddle) recommended against that?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes -- several Attorney Generals.

Q. Several Attorney Generals?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Mr. President, could you say whether the broadcasts of the O.W.I. which have attacked the King of Italy were authorized by you or by the State Department?

THE PRESIDENT: Neither of us. Nor by Bob Sherwood (O.W.I. Overseas Director); and I think Bob Sherwood is raising Hell about it now. It ought never to have been done.

MR. EARLY: He is; and it was a slip.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Only don't quote me as saying "raising Hell." (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, can you give us any guidance on your speech tomorrow night -- the scope of it?

THE PRESIDENT: It is going to be about the war. (laughter)

Q. Abroad, or at home, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Do you -- (much laughter) -- you know, I -- I hoped -- I hoped you would ask that question just that way. In other words, -- well, it's -- this doesn't really apply to you (personally), but I am just thinking about the general lines of thought.

There are too many people in this country who go after a slogan, who simplify things down, who are not mature enough to realize that you can't take a piece of paper and draw a line down the middle of it and put the war abroad -- or the war front -- on one side of the line, and put the home front -- so called -- on another side of the line, because after all it all ties in together.

When we send an expedition into Sicily, where does it begin? Well, it begins at two places, practically, it begins on the farms of this country, and in the mines of this country.

And then the next step in getting that army into Sicily is the processing of the food, and the processing of the raw materials into steel, and then the munitions plants that turn the steel into tanks or planes or the aluminum, whatever it may be. And then, even during that process and a long time afterwards, a great many million people in this country are engaged in transporting it from the plant, or from the field, or the processing instrument to the -- to the seaboard.

And then it's put on ships that are made in this country, otherwise you couldn't get it over there at all. And it gets on board ships that you have to escort and convoy with a lot of other ships, and a lot of other planes that are based, most of them, in this country. And finally, when they get to the other side, all these men go ashore.

And during the process of getting ready for an attack on -- on Sicily, they are putting into effect a training which they received over here before they started. They have been trained in many kinds of camps over here. They have had maneuvers. Well, that is -- that is home front work, even when they are doing that. And as a result of it, in this particular war, we have got over two million men that are overseas, and no man has gone over there that hasn't had pretty adequate training. Most of them have had training sufficient to enable them to go into action almost at once after they get there.

Well, of course, that did not happen in 1917 and 1918. When the troops went over to France, the first thing they did was to go into a training camp two or three hundred miles behind the lines, before they were sufficiently trained to go up to the front. When an American soldier goes over from here, he is fully equipped, not only his clothing, but also all of the munitions that are assigned to him, which includes almost everything -- guns, rifles, machine guns and ammunition, artillery small and large, tanks, planes, trucks, and everything else.

When our boys went over in '17 and '18, it's a fact that a very large portion of their equipment was given to us, or -- I shouldn't say that, I don't want to raise a question of whether it was given or loaned -- it was turned over to us by Britain and France. Even many of the articles of personal apparel were turned over to us by Britain and France. A great number of our rifles came from Britain and France, a great majority of our -- of our artillery on the Western Front in those days came from Britain and France. We built no tanks of our own that got over there. Most of the trucks -- or lorries, as they call them -- came from Britain and France.

And on the airplane end, in order to say that we had flown some of them on the other side, I think there were six or eight planes in France, none of which had been flown against the enemy, which were put into the air during the -- the last few days before the Armistice, to save the record.

Today, of course, we are not only sending our people over completely equipped from the bottom to the top, but we are also supplying a very large portion of munitions in the broad sense of the term, including food, to our Allies -- to our Allies, to be specific, in the Sicilian campaign -- before that, the African campaign.

But all through this we have to remember that there is just one front, which includes at home as well as abroad. It is all part of the picture of trying to win the war.

Now, of course, I can't do anything about it because the thing has got started, and people will continue to refer to the "home front."

It always reminds me of an example I use about things getting started. I have a little dog who is called Fala -- F-A-L-A. But in the beginning, everybody got into their heads that his name was F-A-L-L-A, and you can't break them of the habit. Same thing goes for "home front." (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, will you tell us about your interview with Mayor (Fiorello) LaGuardia?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, we talked about a lot of things -- nothing particular. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, would you comment on Mr. (Vice President Henry A.) Wallace's speech at Detroit Sunday?

THE PRESIDENT: The what?

Q. Mr. -- would you comment on Mr. Wallace's speech at Detroit Sunday?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I heard it. Yes.

Q. Would you give us any comments on it?

THE PRESIDENT: I liked it very much.

VOICES: Thank you, Mr. President.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #912
Executive Office of the President
July 30, 1943 -- 10.57 A.M., E.W.T.

Q. Good morning.

Q. Good morning, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: (in high good humor) You'll need two or three notebooks this morning.

Q. Oh -- Oh.

Q. I only brought one.

THE PRESIDENT: I only try to oblige. (much laughter) What are we doing with a Wave in here?

Q. (the Wave) Representing the Navy, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Grand -- grand.

Q. (surveying numerous papers in front of the President) Is this going to be mimeographed?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Is this going to be mimeographed?

THE PRESIDENT: No! You had better take it all down! (cries of "Oh -- Oh" and laughter)

Q. It's an awful hot day.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I think I'll read all that, too. (more laughter)

Q. You are going to read all that?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes!

Q. Shall we send out for lunch? (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: There's an idea.

An interesting thing at Casablanca, when Churchill and I had the press conference, we searched the Army and Navy that was there to find somebody that could take the conference. And all they had was just a regular stenographer. There wasn't anybody who had the speed for it. Gosh, there were four WAACs, and one of them stepped forward and said, "I am a court stenographer." So the thing was properly taken -- pretty good. (laughter)

Q. Right.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have got a lot of things. (laughter)

Steve (Early) will give you this after -- I am having it typed now -- in regard to crimes against innocent people committed by certain persons. In August, 1942 -- nearly a year ago -- I issued a statement to the press in which, after referring to the crimes against innocent people committed by Axis powers, I stated, "The United Nations are going to win this war. When victory has been achieved, it is the purpose of the Government of the United States, as I know it is the purpose of each of the United Nations, to make appropriate use of the information and evidence in respect to the barbaric crimes of the invaders, in Europe and in Asia. It seems only fair that they should have this warning, that the time will come when they shall have to stand in courts of law in the very countries which they are now oppressing, and answer for their acts."

On October 7, last year, I stated that it was "the intention of this Government, that the successful close of the war shall include provisions for the surrender of the -- to the United Nations of war criminals."

The wheels of justice have turned constantly since those statements were issued, and are still turning.

There are now rumors that Mussolini and members of his Fascist gang may attempt to take refuge in neutral territory. One day, Hitler and his gang, and Tojo and his gang will be trying to escape from their countries.

I find it difficult to believe that any neutral country would give an asylum to, or extend protection to any of them. I can only say that the Government of the United States would regard the action by a neutral government in affording asylum to Axis leaders, or their tools, as inconsistent with the principles for which the United Nations are fighting, and that the United States Government hopes that no neutral government will permit its territory to be used as a place of refuge, or otherwise assist such persons in any effort to escape their just deserts.

Well, I think that speaks for itself.

Then, here is a thing that I got at the last minute the other night, and I didn't -- couldn't put it in (the speech), because I -- I didn't have the time. It came at the very last minute, from General (Dwight D.) Eisenhower.

Q. (aside) In the speech he made.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I think it is -- this is not -- no copy on this. I will just "talk" it for a minute.

I spoke of what we were going to do to help the Italian people in Italy. I had this cable from General Eisenhower. I wanted to include some of the facts he sent me, but there wasn't time to get them in. However, I think the American people will be interested to know just what we are doing.

The immediate supply of food for both our troops and the civilian population in Sicily had to be landed across the beaches. Emergency food for the civil population was met from the Army rations, and continues from military stocks. A stockpile of supplies especially for civilians has been established in North Africa, and is now being moved in. It includes sugar, and flour, and milk for children, olive oil, meat, and an Italian favorite called Pasta. A generous amount of medical supplies, and also soap and matches, has been furnished, and the supply will continue.

Public Health doctors went with the assault elements. In addition, sanitary, civil supply, transportation and agricultural experts were also sent in, for the purpose of organizing the food resources of the island itself for the benefit of the population.

The -- they do grow wheat. We are sending other wheat in from Africa, but to supply power for the milling of it we have sent in shipments of Diesel oil to mill the wheat.

To assist in restoring the economy of Sicily, particularly with respect to its own food supply, General Alexander has been authorized to free selected Sicilian prisoners -- prisoners of war -- whose labor will assist in the wellbeing of the local population.

So you can see we are making good on our promises. And on our doing that will pay dividends, and gaining the cooperation of Italians as our troops push forward.

I think this is particularly important right now. They are getting the harvest in in Sicily, and they will be harvesting all through Italy during the next few weeks. We hope that this year the Italian people as a whole will be able to keep their own crops, as is happening in Sicily, and not be compelled to let them go through to the Germans.

I have got another one.

I am releasing this, otherwise it would -- it would break -- this Report on Demobilization and Readjustment. (holding it up)

Way back in July, 1942 -- over a year ago -- I appointed an informal conference on post-war readjustment of civilian and military personnel. The conference was selected in order to include representatives with a wide range of experience and interest.

Well, Dr. Floyd Reeves; Dr. Francis Brown, Joint Army and Navy Committee; Dr. Edward Elliott, Chief of Professional and Technical Employment and Training Division of the War Manpower Commission; Dr. William Haber, Director of the Bureau of Program Requirements; Brigadier General (Frank T.) Hines, Veterans' Administration; Major General (Lewis B.) Hershey, the War Manpower; Dr.(A. F.) Hinrichs, Acting Commissioner of Labor Statistics; Lieutenant Commander (Ralph A.) Sentman -- S-E-N-T-M-A-N -- of the Educational Services Section, Bureau of Personnel, Navy Department; Colonel (Francis T.) Spaulding of the Education Branch, War Department; Dr. Howard -- Mr. Howard Tolley, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics; Dr. Thomas J. Woofter, Jr., Director of Research, Federal Security Agency; and Mr. Leonard Outhwaite, National Resources Planning Board.

It worked as an independent body, and was entirely free in arriving at its recommendations.

And about three weeks ago they made this report.

After calling attention to the great scope of the problem, the conference expressed its belief that if the problems of demobilization are to be met satisfactorily, the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government must produce a national policy that will carry out the general activities of that period. It also believes it will be found necessary to establish a central directive agency for dealing with these problems.

A part of the work of the conference was general in character, and set up general objectives or processes of demobilization procedure. But it wasn't content to deal simply with principles and generalities. Wherever it was found possible to do so, the conference set forth many concrete and practical suggestions. These are still illustrated by its proposals regarding the mustering-out process that will affect the men and women in the armed services.

They have six recommendations, which are a bit more specific than the ones I made the other night; but the general process, of course, is the same. Well, for instance, they proposed three months of furlough at regular base pay, not to exceed a hundred (dollars) a month plus family allowances. They are more specific than I was, and also a little bit longer than I was. And I added certain things which they haven't got in, and they have got certain -- less important things in that I did not have in. For instance, opportunities for agricultural employment and settlement. Substantially, the objective is exactly the same as mine, although some of the details differ.

The report blocks out a general approach to the problems of demobilization, and recognizes that much work remains to be done both by the Executive and Legislative branches of the Government. It emphasizes the fact that this work must be commenced now, in order that plans may be fully developed before large-scale demobilization begins.

It calls attention to the fact that many men will be released from the armed forces during the course of the war, and it is desirable that the same general provisions apply to them that apply to those who are a part of the more general process of demobilization at the end of the war.

The report places strong emphasis on the importance of bringing about a rapid conversion of industry from a wartime to a peacetime basis, in establishing full employment as one of the objectives of the demobilization process. It recognizes that the bulk of employment must be furnished by private industry, and that important -- and that -- and that important efforts are being made to this end by various groups in private industry in the country. It recognizes that successful demobilization can only take place if the Federal Government and private industry each perform their proper function.

It points out that the Congress and the Chief Executive must establish the general policy and provide general machinery for bringing about demobilization, but that individual initiative and group effort will also play an important part in making the machinery work.

The -- I think that's about all. You have got enough, anyway.

Q. Mr. President, are you releasing that with your approval?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, not as to every word. In other words, it's a tremendously interesting study. The general objective, Yes. As to the details, that is a matter for Congress to work out. The purpose is excellent. And the committee that drew it up, of course, was -- was in its personnel an extremely good committee.

MR. EARLY: (to the President) Transmitting the report to the Congress.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. EARLY: Transmitting the report to the Congress.

THE PRESIDENT: And Steve suggests as soon as the Congress comes back, I will transmit the report.

Q. Mr. President, regarding your report to the nation the other night, there has been some speculation in some quarters as to its political portent, and some of your loyal opposition have released statements on it. Is there any comment that you would like to make, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: It reminds me of what a member of the family said this morning. He said, "Why, in your next speech, don't you try it on -- a different way? Suppose a paragraph or two saying, 'The moon is beautiful'? (laughter) Probably you will be accused of playing politics, because there are a lot of young people that like to sit out under the moon." (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, there has been some discussion as to whether we ought to deal with the (Marshal Pietro) Badoglio government, or with the King (of Italy), and so forth; and I wonder whether you might think it useful to clarify that point?

THE PRESIDENT: Steve said you would ask that question. (laughter) I said to him it reminds me a good deal of the old argument -- I could go on and have an argument about it -- as to which came first, the chicken or the egg.

When a victorious army goes into a country, there are two things -- two essential things that they want to meet, in the first instance. The first is the end of armed opposition. The second is -- when that armed opposition comes to an end -- to avoid anarchy. In a country that goes into a state of anarchy, it is a pretty difficult thing to deal with, because it takes an awful lot -- it would take an awful lot of our troops.

I don't care who we deal with in Italy, as long as it isn't a definite member of the Fascist government, so long as they get them to lay down their arms, and so long as we don't have anarchy. Now his name may be a King, or a present Prime Minister, or a Mayor of a town, or a village.

We have a great big objective. The first thing is to stop the fighting, and the second thing is to avoid anarchy. Now mind you, that is only the very first step.

You will also remember that in the -- I think it was the Atlantic Charter, something was said about self-determination. That is a long-range thing. You can't get self-determination in the first week that they lay down their arms. In other words, common sense.

And I don't think that any controversy is either called for or advisable, because it puts the thing, at this stage of the game, into the "which came first, chicken or egg" category.

Q. Mr. President, you wouldn't consider General Badoglio as the Fascist, then?

THE PRESIDENT: I am not discussing personalities. It was only a columnist (Samuel Grafton) who went on the air the other night that did that. (laughter) (adding) Gave his own personal views.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, sir.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(Notebook PC-XV -- Page 27 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #913
Executive Office of the President
August 10, 1943 -- 4.15 P.M., E.W.T.

Q. Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: (just returned from a short vacation in Canada) Well!

MR. GODWIN: What kind of bait do you catch your fish with?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: What kind of bait?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know whether you are old enough to have used it when you were a boy -- a thing called earthworms.

MR. GODWIN: I was going to say, I had a guide who talked about it last night, and he called them educated worms.

THE PRESIDENT: They are new to me. I always called them earthworms. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Good fishing!

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I think the only thing I have got -- I have just had a telephone message from Mr. Mackenzie King (Prime Minister of Canada), saying that the Prime Minister of Great Britain (Winston Churchill) has just arrived in Canada, with members of his staff; and I think you can assume that I will probably see him. It will probably be a staff meeting. I can't tell you the time, date, or anything else.

(then to a reporter, who was apparently talking to himself) What did you say? (laughter)

Q. Is there anything more?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No, I don't think I have got anything to say.

Q. Mr. President, we continue to hear talk of a second front in Europe. Is it a third front that remains to be opened?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know, my boy. You have never been a columnist. You talk like a columnist. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: A fellow over here called it a third front.

THE PRESIDENT: No. He's a radio "transmitter," aren't you? (more laughter)

Q. Will there be any Russian participation in these talks in Canada, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Will what?

Q. Will there be any Russian participation in these talks in Canada?

THE PRESIDENT: Any what?

Q. Russian participation?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so. That doesn't mean that we wouldn't be awfully glad to have them. It's just British and American, that's all.

Q. What?

THE PRESIDENT: British and American, that's all.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything that you can say about the development of a program to lower the cost of food to consumers?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think there is anything on that yet. We are all working toward it ---

Q. (interposing) In that connection, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- the anti-inflation fight.

Q. (continuing) --- in that connection, can you say anything about Representatives (Jesse P.) Wolcott (Republican of Michigan) and (Henry B.) Steagall (Democrat of Alabama) being called back for conferences in connection with food?

THE PRESIDENT: Never heard of it. What's that about, food?

Q. I don't know. I heard they were coming.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes -- it must have been a committee.

Q. Mr. President, has the White House received any confirmation of reports emanating from Madrid that Adolf Hitler's regime has been supplanted by a military junta?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't heard a thing, except what I read in the papers. Neither has the Secretary of State. At least he hadn't up to half-past twelve today.

Q. Mr. President, the committee you appointed to study revision of the Puerto Rican constitution has finished its work. Have you heard what they did?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I haven't. I have only been back since yesterday morning. They came in to see me -- what was it? -- about a week ago Friday, and they hadn't finished their work then. Now, if they are still here, I suppose they will come in to see me before they disband.

Q. I believe they just disbanded a day or two ago, before you got back.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't know. Better ask -- who is it? -- Mr. Ickes (Secretary of the Interior) is the Chairman of it, I think.

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) Yes, sir.

Q. (interposing) Do you have any indications ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I haven't had a word since a week ago Friday.

Q. Anything on this conference today, Mr. President, with the -- Secretary Hull, and Dr. (Isaiah) Bowman, and Dr. ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No. Just ---

Q. (continuing) --- (Leo) Pasvolsky?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- continuing.

Q. Is that post-war planning?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Would that relate to post-war planning?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes.

Q. Anything on railroad wages, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't heard a word.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) As ---

Q. (continuing) --- while you were away, a fellow named (John) Bovingdon was fired from the Government. It seems that (Martin) Dies (Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities) said he was a ballet dancer with Communist tendencies. (laughter) It has been suggested, Mr. President, that you set up some sort of committee to pass on such cases. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Gosh! -- I did?

Q. No. It has been suggested.

THE PRESIDENT: Why don't you set up a committee like that, and let me have their names? I think you might do a very good job on it. (much laughter)

VOICES: Thank you, Mr. President.

(Notebook PC-XV -- Page 41 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #914
Held on the Terrace at The Citadel in Quebec, Canada
August 24, 1943 -- at 12.15 P.M., E.W.T.

(this is the joint press conference of the President, the Prime Minister of Great Britain Winston Churchill, and the Prime Minister of Canada Mackenzie King)

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: (coming out onto the Terrace with the President and Mackenzie King) Oh! I hope we've got a dry seat. (wet outside, but warm and sunny)

(three chairs were placed at an angle from the parapet. Mackenzie King was seated in the middle, Winston Churchill on his left, and the President on his right. They faced a battery of motion picture cameras and still photographers. Anthony Eden, Foreign Minister, Brendan Bracken, Stephen Early and Harry Hopkins sat on the parapet behind them. The newspapermen -- about 170 of them -- quickly gathered in a semi-circle around the three chairs)

THE PRESIDENT: (after being seated) Mr. Mackenzie, you are now the "presiding officer." (laughter) (then noticing the newspapermen) Who woke you up this morning? (more laughter)

VOICE: They are not all here.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: Why don't we put a mat or a rug down? (several were kneeling on the wet ground)

THE PRESIDENT: (to Merriman Smith, UP) Didn't you ring a dinner bell or something in the morning? (a story that at an early hour he rang a gong used for announcing press conferences on all the floors at the Clarendon Hotel, getting everybody up)

MR. MERRIMAN SMITH: That's libel.

THE PRESIDENT: (facetiously) No. (laughter)

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING: Gentlemen of the press, before -- before the conference breaks up, the President and Prime Minister hope to have an opportunity, in which I am proud indeed to be able to join them, of interchanging greetings with you, and also of expressing to you all, our thanks for the helpful cooperation which the press has given in the period of the conference.

In order that the matters may be carried out in the best way possible, it has been thought that if the cameras would perform their function, in the first instance, to the duration of four minutes, the gentlemen might then disappear and have the negatives developed, after which the other members of the press would remain, and Mr. Churchill, Mr. Roosevelt, and possibly myself, would have just a word of greeting to exchange with you before the thing breaks up.

(the still and motion picture cameramen took their pictures and left, the newspapermen crowding into the vacated space)

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Churchill says he hopes you won't sit down too long in one of those puddles.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL. Don't go and tumble over. (the parapet)

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING: Move back -- move back. Can't you crowd back a little, and make this (semi-circle) wider? I think it will be easier for everyone here if you are not too close.

Well, Mr. Churchill, would you like to say a few words to the gentlemen of the press? (then noticing several newspapermen standing on the parapet) Now, are you -- are you going to stay in that position? Watch that parapet.

THE PRESIDENT: Don't tumble over.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: It's a high wall.

THE PRESIDENT: Watch the parapet. (then to Secret Serviceman Hipsley, of tall and husky frame, standing in front of the newspapermen) You had better kneel down, you're too big. (laughter)

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING: Now I call on Mr. Churchill to say a few words to the gentlemen assembled.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: Well, ladies and gentlemen, until I arrived here I thought that the President was going to follow Mr. Mackenzie King in the proceedings.

I didn't know what I was going to say, and I thought that I would base my remarks in accordance with what he said. (laughter) And he doesn't -- but now he has arrived ---

VOICE: (interposing) Louder. Louder, please, Mr. Churchill.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: (louder) Now he has arrived, he tells me that he wishes me to begin. Now he is going to listen to what I have got to say, and he is reserving himself not to make any errors I may make. (laughter)

Well, I understand this is a -- is a talk which is not for quotation or attribution, but to enable us to meet -- I am not making a speech -- (much laughter) -- I am not making a speech -- to enable us, as Mr. Mackenzie King in his very happy phrase said, "to interchange greetings," and rather in the same way as we did at Casablanca.

Now I have quite realized that many of you gentlemen, probably the most distinguished body of great representatives that could be gathered together, you have been -- you have felt impatient at the fact that -- well, you were all gathered here, and there was so very little to report and write about.

Well, that was inherent in the -- in the nature of the -- of the task, because these conferences which attract world-wide attention do not themselves yield a matter which can be continually contributive to the -- to the press, or to the world. And one hopes that as a result of the decisions taken here, events will occur weeks and months later which will fully justify all the labor which was expended. And it is by those results, which are not available in any form that can be even foreshadowed today, that those who take part in these conferences must be judged; and I hope, therefore, that you will appreciate and sympathize with our difficulties, in the same way as I have tried to show I understand yours.

As an old reporter, newspaperman, war correspondent, when most of you were still unborn -- (laughter) -- I know -- I know the feelings of irritation which come when the trouble taken by the press does not seem to reap a proportionate reward.

But we are fighting a great life-and-death struggle, and I must ask for the patriotism, tolerance and indulgence of all those who are here to make allowances for that, criticising anything they think should be criticised, but altogether to make fair allowances for the conditions under which we are doing our work, which are essentially those of secrecy, which are essentially those which the results -- the results of which, when they can be spoken of at all, should be the subject of considered statement. Therefore, I hope that you will be to our faults a little mild, and to our virtues very kind.

This is the sixth conference I have had with the President; and I know there are some people who say, "Why is it necessary to have all these conferences?" But I think a much more reasonable way of looking at it would be to say, "How is it they are able to get on with such long intervals between the conferences?"

When you think that our armies are linked together as no two armies have ever been -- our fleets, air forces and armies linked together as never before in history, not only side by side but intermingled very often -- and that the operations which they are conducting are being achieved with unexampled rapidity ahead of schedule and ahead of program; and when you think of all the difference it makes to the soldiers who are fighting with all the power at their command -- and at which they will have to be kept, at the same time, at the summit and at the center -- and that there will have to be a clear marking out of the course ahead, and a detailed study -- a deliberate study of all the steps that have to be taken -- and what a difference that all makes to the soldier, and how many lives may easily be saved, and what abridgments may be achieved in this long and devastating, desecrating war -- then I feel sure that you will agree with me, and with the President, that we are rightly to come together, and to bring our staffs together, to bring not only the head staffs but all the very large staffs together indispensable to the working of modern operations.

A great advantage is achieved by personal contact. I assure you it would not be possible to carry on the complicated warfare we are waging without -- without close, intimate, friendly, personal contacts, and they have been established at every level in the very large organizations which have been brought together here at Quebec.

I certainly must tell you that I have had --

found the work very hard here -- very hard. I have hardly had a minute to spare, from the continued flow of telegrams from London to the -- to the necessity of dealing with a number of great questions which cannot be hurried in their consideration; and a great many minor decisions, some of which take just as much -- take just as much time and trouble. All this crowding in has certainly not left me any time to go about and see people, and to make all the exterior contacts which I should like to have done, except for an hour yesterday when I saw a few people.

That, I think, has been true also of our staffs. They have worked at tremendous pressure. Not only the combined conferences, which have been daily and twice a day and so forth, but each of the staffs has had to spend long hours in conclave together among themselves; and, of course, the President has had to sit with his officers, and I with those whom I have brought over. We have had to discuss with them, all the movements -- the thoughts -- the decisions which have been taking place.

Well, we have got to the end of the task. We have got to the end of the task. We have reached a very good -- very good -- I hope very good conclusions. I hope they are very good. They are certainly unanimous and agreed, and most extreme cordiality prevails.

Now, you must not suppose that is no small thing, because with the best will in the world differences of view must arise, when two great nations with their immense military forces, with problems in every quarter of the globe, are working together. They must. And it is astonishing what happens, even if you are separated for as much as three months. The difference -- the difference -- the differences arise not on principle but on emphasis and priority which, if they are allowed to consider, do not hamper operations therefore.

I never felt more sure than -- about anything than I do about the fact that these conferences are an indispensable part of the war -- of the war -- the successful conduct of the war, and of a shortening of the struggle, and of the saving of bloodshed to the troops. The least we can do for them is to make sure that they go into action under the best conditions and the best planning, that our foresight and deliberations have played their part in all those plans.

Well, on the whole, things are very much better than they were when we met at Casablanca.

They are even better than when we met in Washington last.

Now, great operations have been successfully accomplished. All Sicily is prostrate under our authority, and apparently taking to it in a very kindly manner.

The -- the -- and of course, needless to say, the moment one achievement has been made, everyone rightly expects something else to come forward onto the scene; and I have no doubt something else will come, but I am sure you would be the first to silence my lips if you thought I was going to in any way give any indication other than one that would be misleading to the enemy, as you may always hear something that is coming about future operations. Still, I do look forward to great steps being taken to beating down our antagonists one after -- one after another.

And I should like to point out that the relations between the British and American armies are different to those between any other large forces in the ages, in that they are working together a particular set of operations -- same set of operations.

Now, another reason why we are here only two, instead of three or more, is that of course a very large part of our discussions has naturally and necessarily been concerned with the -- with the war against Japan; and those are subjects of special interest to the powers who are belligerent against Japan. That you can see for yourselves.

We have had Mr. (T. V.) Soong (Foreign Minister of China) here, and we have made plans for pressing forward with the study not only of short-term action but, of course, long-term; and as we hope, final and decisive actions will have to be taken against that -- that greedy and ambitious -- ambitious government and people.

Generally speaking, I can give you -- have every right to give you the groundwork on which you can feel strong and healthy confidence. We are well-armed. We are better armed than before -- better equipped. We, who began so weak and so in many ways ill-equipped, are now enjoying that superiority in weapons -- in material of all kinds.

The U-boat warfare has rolled over from the debit to the credit side. The great outflow of shipping so magnificently and prodigiously produced by the United States and by Canada, together with the heavy sinkings of U-boats and the safe conduct of convoys, has undoubtedly placed us in a position where we can say without any doubt that Britain and the United States will be able to bring the whole of their weight to bear -- the whole of their weight.

And that, combined with the superb exertions of our Russian ally, far away locked in the great land battles in the heart of Europe, those two combined together should give us the very best means of helping all the toiling millions -- the anxious, suffering millions of the world, thrown out of their houses, taken from their fields -- who through no fault or device of their own have been condemned to toil all these four years.

Thank you very much for listening to what I have had to say. But Mr. Mackenzie King reminds me, quite properly, that four years is from the British point of view, but the Chinese were in for seven years.

Well, let's do our utmost to bring these periods of tribulations to an end; and believe me, the work which we have done here will, I am sure, play a part -- contributory part. It is a satisfactory milestone on the road, and I have no doubt there will be other milestones in the -- in the -- in the future.

But this, I am certain, has been a most successful conference; and if you will -- while at the same time not hesitating to mingle corrections with approval -- will at the same time give us the best aid you can in making a success of this, and in giving -- spreading wide that feeling of confidence which -- which I feel, and which I am sure you are justified in feeling, then I think you might have found this conference has yielded all that you would have liked from a press point of view, and certainly feel that you have played your part with others in the great groundwork which has ended and steadily progressing.

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING: Thank you very much.

I invite you, Mr. President, to speak to the ladies and gentlemen of the press.

THE PRESIDENT: I think perhaps that I can give away a secret, by explaining that all during the early hours of this morning -- I was going to say last night -- the three of us were in an apologetic frame of mind to the press. We were honestly trying to give you all some spot news. And we talked for some two hours, trying to devise something along the line of a slogan -- a phrase -- by which this conference might be known in the future, but we failed utterly. And that is why we come here in a spirit of apology.

The Prime Minister has well explained why there are certain things that cannot be talked about or printed, and yet I think there is one thing in which the press can help, as the press well knows, to a very great degree. This war is not being run by conferences, it goes far deeper than that.

We live in democracies. The war effort in the field has gone extremely well. That is in -- in part due to the conferences of our staffs. And yet, what the men carry, what the men eat, the ships they sail in, that all comes from the unanimity of our war effort, down to the average citizen. And I believe that it is due to the magnificent effort in all our countries, but one which must be kept up very clearly and definitely to the high pitch that it has now arrived at. We cannot afford in any way to assume that military and naval or air men can win the war alone. They need the backing of the people back home. And that is why this conference, while of very great value, must be implemented by the people in the factories, and the shipyards, and in the fields.

We have had a success -- a series of successes. When I think to what the Prime Minister said -- think back a little -- little over a year ago -- back of Casablanca -- June 1942, when we were meeting in Washington, things looked pretty dark -- to the days of Tobruk, to the days of a lack of an offensive on our part. We were still on the defensive, clearly, in almost every part of the world.

And we know that it takes time. We can't order things done and have them happen overnight, or over the weekend. And so, what was planned in June of 1942 didn't go into effect until November 1942. And the things that were planned at Casablanca have only just gone into effect, as we realize through the capture of Sicily -- Tunis first, and then Sicily.

I think you can assume that other -- other plans are about to be developed. But that point about the conference being a -- a detail, if you like, an essential part of winning the war in the shortest possible time ought to be linked with the part that the people of the United Nations must contribute ---

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: (interjecting) Hear -- hear.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- to the earliest and most satisfactory victory.

I think also that there are one or two things that might be assumed. I know the value of controversy making the front page -- (laughter) -- and I think it's an actual fact that we have gone through this series of conferences without controversy. We have a meeting of the minds, and I believe that that is going to last, not only through the war but for many, many long years after the war is over and peace comes.

In the same way, I think we ought to realize that this is a war throughout the world, that we are looking at it as a world war. Yes, we discussed the Atlantic situation, and the operations in the Mediterranean; but we have discussed equally the operations and the problems in the Southwest Pacific, of China, and even of that very important fact that happened during this conference, the throwing out, or shall I say the self-removal of the Japs from the only part of this hemisphere that they had a foot in. Therefore, there is no difference, East and West, and below the Equator or above the Equator. It's all one broad and general operation. That was one of our problems last night and into the early hours of this morning. We couldn't say anything that would create a controversy, because there was none.

I can tell you also that not once but a dozen times, Mr. Churchill and I have said this spot is the best yet.

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: (interjecting) Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) We have come here to Quebec, and we have appreciated the wonderful hospitality of Mr. King ---

PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL: (interjecting) Hear -- hear.

MR. ANTHONY EDEN: (interjecting) Hear -- hear.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- and of the Canadian people, because he speaks for them.

I don't think we could find a more delightful spot than here, with its great historic background. I, like Mr. Churchill, wish we had had more time to get about and see things, and do things. I will say that I shall never forget the very excellent eating qualities of Quebec trout. (laughter) That is something that I shall long remember. All in all, it has been a tremendous success.

We wanted last night to give out some kind of statement that would be -- what shall I call it? -- a bit exciting. Well, a statement has been prepared. I don't believe -- I don't believe there's a "cough in a carload" in it. (laughter) I thought I might read it to you. It's for release at three o'clock this afternoon, but in order to save you the trouble of reading it yourselves, I thought -- (laughter) -- perhaps it might be easier if I did it. It isn't long. Three o'clock is the time of issuance of this statement.

(reading): "The Anglo-American War Conference, which opened at Quebec on August 11, under the hospitable auspices of the Canadian government, has now concluded its work.

"The whole field of world operations has been surveyed and in the light of the many gratifying events which have taken place since the meeting of the President and the Prime Minister in Washington at the end of May, and the necessary decisions have been taken to provide for the forward action of the Fleets, Armies and Air Forces of the two nations. Considering that these forces are intermingled in continuous action against the enemy in several quarters of the globe, it is indispensable that entire unity of aim and method should be maintained at the summit of the war direction."

And may I say as a sidelight on that, we -- we were compelled, Mr. Churchill and I, to speak of the "Fleets, Armies and Air Forces of the two nations." The reason for that is that this is a staff conference between the British and American staffs; but I want to point out that it is only because of that restriction that we did not speak of the splendid forces of the Dominion of Canada. They are at the front, as we all know, working with the British and -- and the Americans; and I don't want anybody to think, anywhere in the world, that we have forgotten them -- what the Canadians have been doing in this war.

Now to go back to the statement.

(continuing reading): "Further conferences will be needed, probably at shorter intervals than before, as the war effort of the United States and the British Commonwealth and Empire against the enemy spreads and deepens. It will not be helpful to the fighting troops to make any announcement of the decisions that have been reached. These can emerge only in action.

"It may, however, be stated that the military discussions of the Chiefs of Staff turned very largely upon the war against Japan, and the bringing of effective aid to China. Mr. T. V. Soong, representing the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was a party to the discussions. In this field, as in the European, the President and the Prime Minister were able to receive and approve the unanimous recommendations of the Combined Chiefs of Staff. Agreement was also reached upon the political issues underlying or arising out of the military operations.

"It was resolved to hold another conference before the end of the year between the British and American authorities, in addition to any tripartite meeting which it may be possible to arrange with Soviet Russia. Full reports of the decisions, as far as they affect the war against Germany and Italy, will be furnished to the Soviet government.

"Consideration has been given to the question of relations with the French Committee of Liberation, and it is understood that an announcement by a number of governments will be made in the latter part of the week."

Well, I think -- I think that's about all that I can say.

And I merely want once more to thank Mr. King and the people of the Dominion for all that they have done to make this a very busy, but a very happy ten days since we came here.

THE PRESS: Thank you, sir.

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING: Gentlemen, just one word before you part.

I would like to say in your presence to the President and to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, how greatly honored the people of Canada havefelt that they should have agreed to hold the meeting which they have just been holding in Canada, and particularly in this historic old city of Quebec.

My colleagues and I were very proud indeed when we received word from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill that they were agreed upon meeting in this city, in our country. I wish to thank them most warmly for having come here and spent the time that they have spent with us. We all wish that it might be longer. We all wish that there might have been a greater opportunity for our people to have the privilege of seeing them more, as they did yesterday in the city for the Prime Minister, and also for the President. But we have realized that this is a very -- very serious conference, and that the matters being discussed here are the most important of any that can be discussed in the world at this time, that every moment and hour has been precious.

It has been my privilege to -- to know something of what has been done behind the scenes, and I would just like to assure all of you ladies and gentlemen of the press that there hasn't been a moment in which the thoughts and the minds of these gentlemen and their military advisers have not been directed to the supreme purpose for which they have met and gathered together here.

I am delighted, Mr. President and Mr. Churchill, that you have both found it possible to not only see each other but to see just a bit of the immediate environs of the city, and to carry away -- we too, as I know you will -- many happy memories of the few days that we have had the privilege of having you in our midst.

May I say to you ladies and gentlemen of the press, on behalf of the government, how deeply we appreciate -- the government of Canada -- how deeply we appreciate the very helpful cooperation that you have given to all of us during the period of the conference. And I want to thank you on behalf of what you have sent out to the world as the picture and background in which the conference is being held, in which you have given the atmosphere in which these deliberations have taken place, and for what you have been able to give of all the proceedings.

You have helped to put our country onto the map of the world, at this time of greatest importance in the history of the world. I thank you for having done it, and for the manner in which you have done it.

THE PRESS: Thank you, sir.

PRIME MINISTER MACKENZIE KING: (to the President) It turned out all right.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

(copy for Prime Minister Churchill)

(copy for Prime Minister Mackenzie King)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #915
Executive Office of the President
August 31, 1943 -- 4.15 P.M., E.W.T.

THE PRESIDENT: (to Earl Godwin, passing May Craig on his way to his seat) Well, look at that!

MR. GODWIN: How are you, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: May is saying behind your back, "By what right did that big fellow sit in front of me?" (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: I asked her to sit on my lap.

MAY CRAIG: She said No. (more laughter)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

MR. DOUGLAS CORNELL: (of the White House Correspondents' Association) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) What?

MR. DOUGLAS CORNELL: (continuing) --- before the press conference starts, we would like to have a bit of an off the record executive session and transact a little business that was left over from the Quebec conference.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Good.

MR. DOUGLAS CORNELL: (continuing) As the senior officer of the White House Correspondents' Association who was at the Quebec conference, Merriman Smith has a Resolution to read. (laughter)

MR. MERRIMAN SMITH: (holding up a very long sheet of paper) Don't be frightened by this, Mr. President. (much laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I was a little worried.

MR. MERRIMAN SMITH: It runs right down.

THE PRESIDENT: I hope this is apologetic.

MR. MERRIMAN SMITH: (reading) (as copied from the original) "White House Correspondents' Association, August 31, 1943.

"KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS:

"That

"WHEREAS: It is WELL KNOWN that the recent QUEBEC CONFERENCE NEARLY was ushered into HISTORY with a ringing SALVO of SILENCE; and

"WHEREAS: It is WELL KNOWN that Monsieur F. ROOSEVELT and Monsieur S. EARLY by EXTRAORDINARY ENDEAVORS AVERTED that CATASTROPHE which would have been conducive to subsequent LEAKAGE and MOREOVER have made JUSTIFICATION of QUEBEC EXPENSE ACCOUNTS extremely DIFFICULT; -- (laughter) -- now therefore be it

"RESOLVED: That the UNDERSIGNED, survivors of the BATTLE OF QUEBEC and members of the WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS' ASSOCIATION, do hereby express their APPRECIATION of the CONSPICUOUS SERVICES of the aforesaid M. ROOSEVELT and M. EARLY; and do hereby CITE them for GALLANTRY IN ACTION ABOVE and BEYOND the CALL of DUTY; -- (more laughter) -- and be it further

"RESOLVED: That these RESOLUTIONS be SPREAD upon the record of a WHITE HOUSE PRESS CONFERENCE and the CONTENTS thereof be COMMUNICATED to ALL PARTIES in INTEREST.

"Signed and sealed by a large number of veterans of Quebec." (much laughter)

(those who signed):

Douglas B. Cornell, Associated Press
Merriman Smith, United Press
Chas. O. Gridley, Chicago Sun
Arthur F. Hermann, I.N.S.
Edward T. Folliard, Washington Post
Kirke L. Simpson, A.P.
Merlin F. Stonehouse, Transradio
John A. Reichmann, United Press
John H. Crider, New York Times
David Lu, Central News Agency of China
Flora Lewis, A.P. of Great Britain
Felix Belair, Jr., Time Inc.
Raymond P. Brandt, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
J. F. Sanderson, Canadian Press
Bert Andrews, New York Herald Tribune
Paul R. Leach, Chicago Daily News
Robert T. Elson, Southern Newspapers (Canada)
John M. Hightower, Associated Press
W. C. Murphy, Jr., Philadelphia Inquirer
Bill Henry, Columbia Broadcasting System
Roscoe Drummond, The Christian Science Monitor
Chas. Van Devander, New York Post
W. B. Ragsdale, United States News
Richard L. Harkness, National Broadcasting Company
Dewey L. Fleming, Baltimore Sun
Baukhage, Bluenetwork
Denys Smith, Daily Telegraph (London)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I am very glad to have that. Nothing is said, though, about a certain episode. Who was it that woke not only the White House correspondents but all the other correspondents, several hundred of them, by ringing a dinner bell in the middle of the night? (laughter)

Well, if you all only knew to what lengths I had to go to prevent the bell-ringer from being arrested under the old French law, you would be even more appreciative. Steve and I worked on it for -- for two whole days. (laughter) The Mayor of Quebec -- he got waked up too, and no jury would have exonerated them; so I had to use all the diplomatic methods possible. I had the State Department at work on it. (laughter) And finally everything was resolved all right, and we got them across the border. I had to get the Treasury Department to state they wouldn't be searched when they went across the border.

MR. MERRIMAN SMITH: For the bell? (much laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I am very grateful for that. It worked out very happily.

(to Mr. Early): And what was -- what was that story? Was it you, or was it Brendan Bracken who appeared on the bench of a courtroom?

MR. EARLY: I didn't. (laughter)

Q. (aside) It was Bracken.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, everybody had a good time, and it was what they call an enjoyable time. I think it's all right.

I have only one or two things. I have got one for Mrs. Craig. Quoddy (Passamaquoddy), which was the N.Y.A. facility up there, yesterday was turned over to the Seabees -- shops, housing facilities, equipment and all. My understanding is they plan to use the existing training unit -- found them to be an up-and-coming outfit, so I feel sure they will make excellent use of it.

There's the correspondence, so that you can write to the Eastport Sentinel about it, May. Let me have it back. (laughter)

There are two things, then ---

MR. EARLY: (aside) Exclusive story.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- Steve has got this for you when you go out, designating General (Dwight D.) Eisenhower a permanent Major General in the Army. At the present time he holds the temporary rank of General, and the permanent rank of Colonel. This promotion is in recognition of General Eisenhower's outstanding services as Commander in Chief of the Allied Forces in North Africa. And also, at the same time I am giving him the Distinguished Service Medal; and the Citation for the Medal is written out, so you can use it if you want.

The other thing is that General (George C.) Marshall's four-year term as Chief of Staff today -- it's the last day. He of course will continue in office beyond the usual and customary four-year term. I believe that he is the first Chief of Staff -- No -- with the exception -- that's right.

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) That's right.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- he is the first Chief of Staff, with the exception of General (Douglas) MacArthur, ever to be continued in office for longer than the usual four years; and he is the only Chief of Staff, as far as I know, in time of war, to serve beyond the four-year period. Outstanding service is the reason for continuing him in the office as Chief of Staff.

Well, I think that's all I have got.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us whether you have accepted the resignation of Under Secretary of State (Sumner Welles) ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I haven't got any news on that. And when there is news, you will probably be informed.

Q. Then there will be news on it?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Then there will be some news on it?

THE PRESIDENT: I said -- _if_ and when, I should have said, --- (laughter) ---

Q. (interjecting) I'm glad to hear you use that word, sir.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- but the _when_ will be decided by me and not by anybody else.

Q. Mr. President, could you confirm or comment in any way upon the reports that Premier (Josef) Stalin has suggested a tri-power conference with you and the Prime Minister (Winston Churchill)?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I think the only thing I could say on that -- I might as well be on the record too. I don't often leave things like this on the record, only I was just as much disturbed as the Secretary of State was by a comment by a columnist (Drew Pearson), which was very detrimental not only to the foreign relations of the United States but to the unity of the United Nations, and therefore the winning of the war. It was an act of bad faith towards this man's country.

The Secretary of State was rather polite. He referred to this particular column as containing a large number of falsehoods. I don't hesitate to say that the whole statement from beginning to end was a lie; but there's nothing new in it, because the man is a chronic liar in his columns. Now that might just as well be said once and for all.

And he is not the -- the only one, you all know that. That kind of journalism -- the kind of journalism -- that hurts the press, besides hurting the country; and the quicker the press realizes that, and what it runs, the more influence the press will have.

I think that's enough to say about that. (much laughter)

MR. GODWIN: (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (adding) It's good.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- you know that Mr. Churchill ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) What?

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- has made some statement on the subject of the tripartite meeting with Stalin this afternoon ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Oh, I heard it on the radio, Yes.

MR. GODWIN: It went forward ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Oh sure. We can all say the same thing.

Q. Mr. President, has there been -- have you had any information that Premier Stalin will attend the tri -- tri -- (laughter) -- tripartite ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Well, it seems to be coming along pretty well. That's all I can say at the present time.

Q. Sir, the Prime Minister spoke of a possible meeting between the Foreign Ministers of the three countries. I wonder if you could tell us where that might be held?

THE PRESIDENT: O, Lord -- Lord -- don't -- don't be so didactic. We hope -- just -- just exactly in the words as Mr. Churchill used them -- they are all right.

Now, who is going to a -- a thing like that, and -- and where will it be held? Number one -- I don't know where, and if I did I wouldn't tell you. And when? I don't know when. If I did know I wouldn't tell you. (laughter)

So that's perfectly clear.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about your Army and Navy, State Department, O.W.I. conference today?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, it was about general information for the press. (laughter)

Q. When are we going to start getting it?

THE PRESIDENT: Really -- really, it's a very good thing for the press. The object of it was to try to loosen up a bit.

Q. Good.

Q. Mr. President, have you anything to say about a letter -- a report that General (Charles) De Gaulle sent a political letter to one of your (political opponents) ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Only what I read in the paper last night and this morning. I know nothing else whatsoever, and I haven't even inquired.

VOICES: Thank you, Mr. President.

(Notebook PC-XV -- Page 75 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #916
Executive Office of the President
September 7, 1943 -- 4.06 P.M., E.W.T.

VOICES: How do you do, sir!

THE PRESIDENT: What's the news today, all quiet?

Q. Pretty quiet.

Q. We're counting on you, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. We're counting on you today.

THE PRESIDENT: I've got very little.

Q. It looks rather formidable.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. It looks rather formidable.

THE PRESIDENT: It isn't formidable, though. It's a mistake! (laughter)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have very little. Steve (Early) will give you, after the meeting, the letter of Aubrey Williams resigning as head of the N.Y.A. (National Youth Administration), and my reply, as he wants to resign on the tenth of September, and the terminal period for liquidating N.Y.A. is the first of January next.

He -- I make it very clear that I am awfully sorry that the Government is losing his services, but that I fully expect to call on him for some other services, because he did a very remarkable job. He will be out for a little while.

He -- the main point of it is that he was training -- N.Y.A. was training 30 thousand workers a month -- young people thoroughly trained in some skill for essential places in the production program -- 30 thousand a month. So I think you can assume that his services I consider so valuable that he will be back in the Government some day, somewhere.

The other thing is a mistake, for which I apologize. I will tell you the whole story.

When I was up in Quebec, it came the time for the Lend-Lease report. (to Mr. Early): What is it, every month or so, ---

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- something like that, to Congress? And there were several suggested drafts for my "Forward" that I always send, and on one of the drafts somebody said I had approved it. As a matter of fact, I hadn't seen any of the drafts, and the verbal statement that I had approved it -- which I hadn't -- went into type, and in type as "Franklin D. Roosevelt," not a signature.

Q. (interjecting) Oh.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) And as such it was sent to the Clerk of the Senate and the Clerk of the House, and released.

Now there were -- there were two sentences, when I did see it after I got back from Quebec -- but a little late. I didn't like the two sentences, because -- not that they haven't got a very large element of truth, but it's a condensation of the truth, and it might be very widely misconstrued. So all I have done is to take the two sentences out.

They read: "The Congress, in passing and extending the Lend-Lease Act, made it plain that the United States wants no new war debts to jeopardize the coming peace. Victory and a secure peace are the only coin in which we can be repaid."

Well, that is only about a quarter of the truth. For instance, "new war debts to jeopardize the coming peace." What is a debt? Is it money, or is it goods, or is it some other benefit? And the way it's put here, it doesn't do justice to the whole situation. It is perfectly true that in the -- in the narrow technical sense we want no new war debts, but at the same time the element of the Lend-Lease Act does mean that other nations operating with us in its administration will repay us as far as they possibly can. Now that doesn't mean necessarily dollars, because there are all kinds of other repayments which can be made. Therefore, the sentence is not -- is not clear.

The same way, "Victory and a secure peace are the only coin in which we can be repaid." Well, a great many people in this country think of a coin as something that you will jangle in your -- in your pocket, and of course in the large sense there are all kinds of coins. I wouldn't have put it that way if I had had a chance to see it before it was printed.

Now, that's -- that's literally all that happened.

That's the whole story. They thought I had approved it -- I never saw it -- so it was printed. And now the -- the real copy is going up next Monday to Congress.

I think that's all I have got.

Q. Mr. President, on Saturday afternoon we received some rather authoritative guidance (from Prime Minister Winston Churchill) -- (laughter) -- about the war in general, and some details about your conferences with the Prime Minister. I wonder, in that same general direction, could you tell us whether there has been any progress toward a meeting with Premier (Josef) Stalin since Quebec?

THE PRESIDENT: Wasn't that at the luncheon on Saturday?

Q. The luncheon, Yes sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Wasn't it wholly off the record?

VOICES: No sir -- No sir.

Q. Not for attribution.

Q. Background.

THE PRESIDENT: Background. (laughter) Well, what was your question? Are there any more details on the meeting ---

Q. (interposing) Has there been any progress ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes, yes.

Q. (continuing) --- toward such a meeting?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't tell you exactly. I couldn't tell you the details of it, but there has been progress, that is, since Saturday; and we hope for more within 24 hours, or 48 hours.

Q. Is that -- does that apply, sir, to the meeting with Stalin rather than the ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Now you are getting into details. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, could you say anything about Mr. Churchill's allusion in his speech at Boston to possible continuance of the Combined Chiefs of Staff after the war?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, let me -- let me talk on that, not for attribution -- the same way.

People are awfully -- I think awfully -- what will I say? -- immature when they talk about "after the war," the idea, because of certain precedents, that when the last shot is -- is fired in one area, let us say, there will be an immediate peace conference, or if all the areas stop shooting that there will be immediately a peace conference -- there will be a great treaty signed between all the nations of the world. Mind you, this is just for guidance, but not attribution.

I think that it is a pretty fair guess to say that there will be a period -- a transition period. You have to remember certain things, and you have to remember that most of the world is pretty well shell-shocked now. Many of you are somewhat shell-shocked. (laughter) Occasionally, I think that I am a bit shell-shocked. (more laughter) And I think that for the good of humanity perhaps it might be a good thing to -- before we start writing the fair copy of what is going to happen later on, that we should catch our breaths, our handwriting will be better, and what we say will be better if we read it over a good many times, and perhaps for a good many months.

And so I rather look forward to a period of transition between the firing of the last shot and the signing of a formal agreement or treaty. Obviously, there are certain things that will happen during that transition period. One of them is the -- the maintenance of peace. Well, who by? The victors. The victors will maintain the peace during that transition period, and they will try out things. They will keep their Combined Staffs working, meeting, watching, ready to maintain peace by force if necessary. And the Prime Minister was absolutely right.

Now, that may develop into such a good working plan from a military point of view that the United Nations may say, "Well, that's -- that's pretty good" -- the United States and Britain, of course, and other nations which contribute in a military way to the maintenance of peace. And that, I think, is the way the Prime Minister put it yesterday when he was getting his Degree.

Q. Sir, during that transition period, do you think there will have to be prolonged occupation of some of the Occupied territories or enemy territories?

THE PRESIDENT: I have just about the same idea as you have. I don't know, and neither do you. Every case differs from every other.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) You can't tell, and I think -- I don't see that it's worth while guessing.

Q. (continuing) --- at the luncheon Saturday, the Prime Minister spoke of a Mediterranean Commission, and said that Russia had been given representation on it. While that was -- it was printed or attributed to him, I wonder if you could elaborate a little on that? He made no more reference to it.

THE PRESIDENT: Did he call it the Mediterranean Commission?

Q. Yes.

Q. (Those were) the words he used.

THE PRESIDENT: Probably -- probably I had better not enlarge on it. It's all right. What he said is perfectly true. At this time I guess I had better not enlarge on it.

Q. Could you give us any idea at all of its purposes, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Getting the Mediterranean out of the war.

Q. Mr. President, there have been obvious feelers from the Rome radio lately -- peace terms. Assuming that the United Nations hang on to the unconditional surrender statement, what can Italy expect in territories or re-acquisition of territories that they have had?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you see, the trouble is that you started with the word "assuming," which is the Latin way of saying "if." (laughter)

Q. I didn't say "if."

THE PRESIDENT: I caught you on that. Well, as a matter of fact, of course, I couldn't talk about it anyway, that's about the real answer.

Q. Mr. President, the other day you said something about "if and when" there is any news ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I should have used the old Stock Exchange expression, "when, as and if." (laughter)

Q. (continuing) You were speaking with reference to Sumner Welles. Is there any news on his status today?

THE PRESIDENT: Not -- No, no.

Q. Mr. President, does the appointment of Mr. (Nelson) Rockefeller to the Joint Mexican-United States Industrial Commission indicate that similar steps might be taken in cooperation with other Latin American republics?

THE PRESIDENT: I would hate to say Yes or No. As a matter of fact, I am not answering it, because there may be something in the fire in relation to other nations. I don't see why it shouldn't be extended, but I don't know whether -- whether there are any negotiations being talked about yet. It's -- it's a good idea.

Q. Mr. President, there were published reports yesterday that General (George C.) Marshall has been given a new post. Would you care to comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't got the foggiest idea. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, have you been advised of the action taken today by the Republicans out in Mackinac Island (in Michigan)?

THE PRESIDENT: No. What happened today? I saw a hotel in Houston burnt down. (much laughter)

Q. Are those two related?

THE PRESIDENT: Maybe -- I don't know.

Q. Why -- (more laughter) -- that's sort of incriminating.

They (the Republican Post War Advisory Council) adopted what they call a compromise proposal favoring qualified American participation in a cooperative organization among sovereign nations to keep peace after the war.

Would you care to hear some more of it? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes -- love to.

Q. They said that this foreign policy declaration is restricted, that where American participation in any peace organization might clash with the vital interests of the nation, this country should adhere to its constitutionalism. (more laughter)

Those seem to be the immediate highlights of it that came out. Would you care to say anything about that?

THE PRESIDENT: Do you -- do you think I could say more about it if I studied it for a week than I could say now? (continued laughter)

Q. I shouldn't care to answer that, sir. (loud laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I always have my Thesaurus handy on my desk. I have no objections to things like that. (again more laughter)

Q. What do you mean by "things," sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Anything like what?

Q. Like Dewey's speech? (more laughter)

Q. (aside) Let's quit now.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #917
Executive Office of the President
September 14, 1943 -- 4.17 P.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't got anything of very much importance.

The head of the War Shipping Administration, Admiral (Emory S.) Land, has signed an agreement with Dr. (T. V.) Soong (Foreign Minister of China), assigning two Liberty ships to the Chinese government for operation during the war.

That will put the Chinese flag on the sea.

The vessels are the CHUNG SHAN and the CHUNG CHENG, named for Dr. Sun Yat Sen and the Generalissimo (Chiang Kai-shek). They will fly the Chinese flag, and carry Chinese unlicensed crews. Because the Chinese have no officers at the present time, the officers will be Americans but will be replaced with Chinese officers when the latter become available. The two ships will be delivered at the end of this month; and the American President Lines will act as agents to handle the vessels.

They will be used, in great part, for helping to get supplies to China, that is to say, to the nearest point to China that goods can be flown over the mountains.

Then I am sending a Message to Congress on Friday, chiefly about the war.

And Sam Rosenman is coming down here, resigning from the Supreme Court of New York, to act as special counsel to the President.

I am getting a great deal of quasi-legal stuff at the present time. For instance, one of the new duties assigned to me was that I have been made the final court of appeal on draft deferments of Federal employees and other draftees. They come to me. And I am getting a lot of court-martial cases, which I want to have reviewed just like the -- the normal cases -- criminal cases that came to me as Governor when I was in Albany, which Sam Rosenman handled.

I don't think there's anything else.

Q. Has Judge Rosenman's salary been fixed, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I suppose it will be ten or twelve (thousand dollars), whatever it is.

Q. Are you going to make ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) By the way, he is resigning a salary of, I think, 25 thousand ---

Q. (interjecting) 25 thousand.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- 25 thousand, Yes.

Q. Mr. President, is it possible that he is resigning for more important reasons than merely to handle draft matters?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. This has nothing to do with politics at all.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about the announcement from Canada that she is going to disband two and a half divisions?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't think it's anything that should be treated except as strict truth. I suppose it relates to certain, what might be called almost "home guard" -- I don't know what they call them -- but they are divisions or regiments that have been put into service, created because of the feeling that as long as the Japanese occupied any islands in the Aleutians, that we had to guard against them -- not that we thought that they would strike, but we had to be ready in case they did.

Incidentally, I think it would be rather interesting for you to check up and see the percentage of the Canadian population which is in -- in service, or in factories, the amount -- what is it? -- of output for the war on a per capita basis, compared with ours. It would be rather interesting. You see, they have -- what is it? -- about ten million people in Canada, ten or eleven?

Q. Eleven.

Q. Eleven.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we have a hundred and thirty millions plus.

Q. Can you give us those percentages, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I can't, out of my head.

Q. Well, Mr. President, was this entire outfit to be used solely in Canada, as you understood it?

THE PRESIDENT: I think so.

Q. Mr. President, did you discuss the draft of fathers with your Congressional leaders?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I think you are a little premature on that. Yes, I did. (laughter) I think they are going to ask General (George C.) Marshall and Admiral (Ernest J.) King to go before them -- talk about the necessities of the case.

Q. Have you any views of your own that you could give us on that question?

THE PRESIDENT: I think there's only one thing that you might make clear, that this is -- that the Manpower Commission -- draft board -- if a married man with a child is in an essential industry in this war, he would not be drafted, but there are a good many fathers laying around who are -- a good way of putting it -- who are neither in the Army -- (laughter) -- nor performing any essential service. (more laughter) We all know that type of father. (still more laughter)

Q. Grammar, Mr. President? (it sounded like "Grand-ma")

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. The grammar. (still sounding like "Grand-ma")

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. (aside) Grand-ma?

Q. The grammar?

THE PRESIDENT: The grammar?

Q. "Laying" around.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh! -- Oh! That's all right. I prefer the ungrammatical way of doing it. (much laughter)

Q. Mr. President, would you call them "chronic layers"?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Are they "chronic layers"? (more laughter)

Q. Do you think men that fit into that category, sir, could well go into the Army?

THE PRESIDENT: I know a great many right here in Washington. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Well, Mr. President, General Marshall on another occasion, not discussing fathers, but discussing the draft of young -- young men, sort of "put the bee" on the older men, including fathers, as not being good soldiers. That is not exactly what he said, but he covered considerable area.

THE PRESIDENT: Those are the people over 38 ---

MR. GODWIN: (interjecting) Yes, I think that's it.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- over 38 -- the early ones; and they didn't have the -- they didn't have the -- the strength -- stamina -- for tough operations, that was true. Some of them did.

Q. Mr. President, do you know whether there is any move to draft them by age groups rather than by draft numbers?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No.

Q. Mr. President, any discussion on taxes?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, talking about -- talking about it. Going along all right.

Q. Mr. President, has any further progress been made toward a three-way meeting with the Russians?

THE PRESIDENT: I would say Yes. Yes. In fulfillment of what I told you the other day.

Q. 48 hours you said then.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. 48 hours you said then.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, and it came in just about 48 hours.

Q. *What*, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, that's different. You want me to tell dates and places and things like that? I don't think so.

VOICES: Yes. (laughter)

Q. If we might go back to the fathers, Mr. President, do you approve of the distinction between pre-Pearl Harbor and post-Pearl Harbor fathers?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, "ain't" it sort of hypothetical now?

Q. No.

THE PRESIDENT: Now? I mean, it's -- it's hypothetical now, in one sense; but I think most of those distinctions arose soon after Pearl Harbor.

Q. Well, they are all fathers.

THE PRESIDENT: No use discussing that.

Q. No.

Q. Mr. President, could you discuss the resolution on foreign policy?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no.

Q. Mr. President, would you care to make any comment on the situation in Italy?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think I have got anything this afternoon, unless something has come in. Press coverage is pretty good in Italy.

Q. Is there anything you can say -- (laughter) -- is there anything you can say about the Italian fleet?

THE PRESIDENT: No, not yet. Of course, it does present certain problems. One thing ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- that we don't always realize, and that is that an Italian -- Oh, what? -- cruiser has got to have -- if you want to use that cruiser -- got to have ammunition that will fit the guns. You have got to have spare parts that will fit the machinery. And they are on one system and we are on the other. Now, how much -- how much ammunition -- you see, this is all highly speculative -- how much ammunition we were able to get at Taranto, which is one of their naval bases, we don't know yet.

Q. Mr. President, were any decisions made on taxes at the conference today?

THE PRESIDENT: That what?

Q. Were any decisions made on tax policy at the conference today?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh No. Oh No. There probably won't be for some time.

Q. Mr. President, regarding this Message to Congress, are you going to have any recommendations for them, or specific proposals, or is it just going to be largely a review of the war?

THE PRESIDENT: Largely a review of the war.

Q. Mr. President, have you got anything to say about the whereabouts of Benito Mussolini?

THE PRESIDENT: Only what we got from London. We have never had our hands on him.

Q. Does that mean you would like to have your hands on him? (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: (aside) How about it?

THE PRESIDENT: Well now, now you are raising another difficult question. (more laughter)

Q. (aside) Let's go.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, sir.

(Notebook PC-XV -- Page 99 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #918
Executive Office of the President
September 28, 1943 -- 4.05 P.M., E.W.T.

(there was much noise and talking as the newspapermen filed in, apparently with an air of expectancy)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: Steve (Early) will have mimeographed for you afterwards about the Lend-Lease in the month of August. Aid to the fighting Allies reached a new peak -- 872 million dollars of Munitions, 728 in July. Industrial goods 152 million; about the same in July. And Foodstuffs 90; and 132 in July. Making a total of transfers for the month of one billion, 114 million for August, as against one billion and 18 million for July. That includes aircraft and parts, ordnance and ammunition, watercraft, combat and other vehicles, and so forth. There's no use to go into the figures any more.

I've got scooped -- I got scooped. I had rather hoped that I would be able to announce the fall of Foggia (in Italy) at four o'clock this afternoon, but they beat me to it, and that got in this morning.

The reason I hoped that I could announce it was because it is one of the most important successes from the strategic point of view that the Allies have had yet. It -- in other words, it brings a -- the air forces, land and sea support, measurably nearer to the heart of Germany. From

Foggia, the air forces can give a close cover for all the operations in Italy and the neighboring territory, including the Balkan -- the Adriatic coast, and especially northern Italy.

It is not discussing a military secret when I say that the German staff undoubtedly has drawn circles -- which I strongly recommend to you -- to see where -- what part of Europe those circles cover, using -- using Foggia as a center. And the radius of the circle -- the distance for our planes -- those distances, of course, would vary with the type of plane.

But it means that a very large part of Germany has been sleeping outside of the vulnerable area, and from now on they can no longer do so.

It stands out as a very successful combination -- complete cooperation between the -- not only between different nations -- the British, the Canadians and ourselves -- and I could add to that the French, who are in Sardinia, and -- and Corsica. There is no lost motion. And it represents a -- secondly -- very effective cooperation between land -- ground troops, and the air, and warships.

Probably one of the most interesting things that happened was down in Sicily, during the operations and again up in Salerno Bay, where they had actual engagements between cruisers and destroyers lying offshore, and German tank regiments that were within range on shore.

I don't think I have got anything else.

Q. Could you say anything about your tax conference today, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) About what?

Q. (continuing) --- Mr. President?

Q. Taxes.

Q. Your conference on taxes?

THE PRESIDENT: No. It is going along all right.

Q. Mr. President, will there be a Message on taxes at any time soon?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so.

Q. Mr. President, there have been reports that Sumner Welles might be given an important post. Is there anything on that?

THE PRESIDENT: No news at all.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, what about the Internal Revenue vacancy? Have you made any decision about that yet?

THE PRESIDENT: No, not yet. You mean (former Commissioner Guy) Helvering?

Q. Helvering.

THE PRESIDENT: No, not yet.

Q. Mr. President, there have also been a lot of reports about prospective changes in the command of the Army. I wonder if you could discuss that at all today?

THE PRESIDENT: The what?

Q. The prospective -- changes in the Army?

THE PRESIDENT: I thought -- I thought you might ask that question. (laughter) So --- (and here the President went through the motions of rolling up his sleeves)

Q. Roll up your sleeves. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I guess the easiest thing to do is to quote the newspapers.

Q. (aside) That's the safest thing.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I want to do it, because a whole lot of you haven't had a chance to read the newspapers -- the way _I_ read them. (laughter) And in the second instance, I want it down on the record of the Press Conferences. They will get published some day.

So I will start off and read you a few. One news story, and I am not going to comment on it, I am just going to read it; and then a couple of editorials.

The first is a story (by William K. Hutchinson, in the Washington Times-Herald for September 25) by the head of one of the three great news agencies, not the A.P. and not the U.P., but the I.N.S. (International News Service) -- the head of the Washington Bureau. Mind you, this is the head of a Washington agency. I just emphasize that a little.

(reading): "A group of influential White House advisers are planning today to give Lieutenant General Brehon Somervell personal control of the expenditure of 22 billion dollars in the coming year, by a complete reorganization of the entire Army production front.

"This domestic coup d'etat is the objective behind the cabal's efforts to oust General George C. Marshall from his post as Army Chief of Staff and 'kick him upstairs' to a glorified but powerless world command over Anglo-American forces.

"Informed sources say the motive is to use the Army's vast production program, excepting aircraft, as a political weapon in the 1944 Presidential campaign.

"There is no evidence whatever that either General -- either President Roosevelt or General Marshall has ever heard of the purpose or potential effect of the plot. Knowledge of it, however, has spread terror through the highest ranks of the War Department."

(laughter)

The next is an editorial ("The Chief of Staff") from the New York Herald Tribune on September 22 (written by Walter Millis).

And the Tribune says,

(reading) "The mixture of unauthenticated 'news,' rumor, guesswork and innuendo which has exploded a teapot tempest around the figure of General Marshall is a brilliant example, first, of how to obstruct the conduct of the war, and secondly, of the vices of that whispering-gallery journalism into which we seem to be sinking. When 'reports' -- in quotes -- first appeared that the Chief of Staff might be chosen for Allied Commander-in-Chief of a Western European landing, they were regarded as compliments both to that officer's high abilities and to America's contribution to the war. Then a Service paper discounted the reports, on the obvious grounds of General Marshall's vital importance in his present post; although, it added rather cryptically, that there were -- quote -- 'powerful interests which would like to eliminate him from Washington' it doubted that the President -- quote -- 'will be induced to transfer him.'

"This was prompted -- promptly embroidered by the Patterson press -- which has been so sleepless in its efforts to spread disunion among the Allies and confusion in their war planning -- ....."

Mind you, this is a respectable paper that says this. (laughter)

(continuing reading): ".....into the melodramatic tale that General Marshall has already been 'quietly removed,' because 'he won't subordinate his technical views on global strategy to Messrs. Roosevelt and Churchill' -- end of quote. The latter, according to this tale, wanted to waste American life in the Balkans, in order to protect British imperial interests, instead of going into France, where the war could be more quickly won.

"It is really difficult to characterize this utterly irresponsible sort of poison, distilled out of gossip without the slightest pretense of authentication. But already a care-free Congresswoman (Jessie Sumner, Republican, from Illinois) is repeating it on the floor; all the tongues are wagging furiously, and serious newspapers are speculating over what is no more than just that kind of rumor, for which the Army itself has long had an apt though inelegant adjective."

I don't know what that is. (loud laughter)

(continuing reading): "To us it seems outrageous that the absolutely vital question of the high command of the armies of the United States should be subjected to this process of disruptive and confusing tittle-tattle. It also seems improbable that General Marshall could either be transferred because of pressure or would himself wish a field command which could not reflect a greater prestige upon him than that he holds now. The global character of the war and his own remarkable abilities have combined to make the post of Chief of Staff actually that of a commander over all the field commands; and he has carried the responsibility so well that his name is already secure in the history of this war."

Then, they weren't content with that, and they wrote another one on the 23rd (also by Walter Millis, "The Whispering Gallery") I will just -- of course, some of this relates to other people -- I will just confine it to the question you asked.

(reading): "There was a time when normally intelligent persons were accustomed to suspect the anonymous outgiving, to insist on some reputable sources for their facts, and to accept news only when it had some pretense to confirmation. All that has apparently long gone by. In all the excitement concerning General Marshall, with columns about what -- quote -- 'has been intimated,' or -- quote -- 'has been learned' and what has been said by -- quote -- 'authoritative sources,' there has not appeared a single solid fact backed up by a man who would put his name to it or supported, explicitly, by evidence that a freshman in history would look at twice.

"The public has reached the state in which anything in a gossip column, any radio commentator's rumor, any unsubstantiated piece of allegedly 'inside' information, or shrewd guesswork, is accepted as readily as -- often more readily than -- the confirmed, authoritatively published fact. This, one submits, is a really dangerous situation. There are many causes for it. Necessary war secrecy is no doubt the basic cause; but it has been aggravated enormously by the much less necessary secretiveness to which this tempts the official mind."

That is perfectly true.

(continuing reading): "The official habit of automatically suppressing every kind of news save the most innocuous has driven the most serious men, perforce, to the 'pipeline' and the keyhole. This in turn creates the opportunity for the calculated hint, the safely anonymous disclosure used by one official or clique as a weapon against someone else. It leads to the unavoidable but dangerous institution of the 'off the record' press conference, in which high personages can vent dissatisfaction, start rumors and cause unintended trouble without having to accept the attendant responsibility.

"The best newspapermen resent this sea of hint and rumor in which they are compelled to work if they are to fulfill their function. The mediocre ones swim along in it, too often without realizing how insubstantial it is in reality.

And the worst and most irresponsible deliberately exploit it -- as the Patterson and McCormick papers are constantly doing -- to create the maximum of division and obstruction and baseless suspicion in the conduct of the war and of affairs. The result is such an episode as that concerning the Chief of Staff. With no facts to go on, the commotion actually tended -- actually tended only to limit the most effective use of General Marshall's high abilities. Fortunately, it seems unlikely to have such results; but this is still a grotesque way in which to wage war. Conditions are partly at fault. Washington officialdom is very, very badly at fault. The press and radio are not without blame. But there will be no real cure until the public learns to demand facts which are facts, and not simply the echoes from a whispering gallery."

(then to Mr. Romagna): You can check on those. (the story and the two editorials)

Q. Mr. President, can you give us any facts on it tonight?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Can you give us any facts on it?

THE PRESIDENT: The only fact I had today was the Foggia thing.

Q. Is there anything you could say regarding the reports about the status of General Marshall?

THE PRESIDENT: No, obviously not, because somebody will start one of the things referred to in the articles I have just been talking about.

In any case of a transfer, who is going to time the giving out of a proposed transfer? Who is going to do it? Is the press going to do it, by starting a rumor? No. It has got to be done when the time is ripe. There may be discussion about transfers without any decision having been made at this time. That is a perfectly natural thing. In other words, when I say there is no news on a thing, you know what I mean. I mean no news at this time. Now, that may mean that there will be news two weeks from now, a month, or ten months from now, or it might mean, equally, that the damn thing hasn't been decided on, equally. That's-- all I can say now is that there isn't any news on that now.

Q. Mr. President, there seem to be some leaks somewhere ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- from prominent places.

THE PRESIDENT: You are right! (laughter)

Q. Can you do anything about it?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Too many people. When you get the number of top people that there are in Washington, if you prevent leaks among my favorite old ninety percent, that's a pretty good average. Just like any profession, about ninety percent are pretty damn good eggs. We won't characterize the other ten (percent). (laughter) Now, out of a hundred percent of the top people in this Government, there are probably ten percent who leak badly.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us anything about the possibility of Secretary Hull going to Moscow?

THE PRESIDENT: Nothing has been decided.

Q. Mr. President, can you comment on a report from London that a new economic arrangement has been entered into by the United States and Great Britain, reportedly covering Lend-Lease and other matters?

THE PRESIDENT: Not that I know of. If you can tell me -- tell me details, or anything, because I don't remember any new agreement.

Q. Have you had a report from Mrs. Roosevelt on her trip (to Australia and New Zealand)?

THE PRESIDENT: On what?

Q. From Mrs. Roosevelt, on her trip?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh my, Yes. We have been talking ever since she got back, getting a lot of news, and still got a lot to get. (laughter)

Q. Did she like Australia, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: Very much.

Q. Sir, there have been reports that Admiral (William H.) Standley might not return to Moscow. Could you say anything about that now?

THE PRESIDENT: Not now. In other words, it's still in the talking stage.

Q. Mr. President, is it definite that Mr. (Norman) Armour will return to Argentina?

THE PRESIDENT: Who?

Q. Ambassador Armour -- Armour?

THE PRESIDENT: I think he is going back, but I don't think the date has been set. I saw him this morning, and I told him to suit himself on the day he actually goes back.

Q. Mr. President, there have been some reports that a new post is being created in the State Department -- high up. Is there anything about that?

THE PRESIDENT: No. The new Under Secretary (Edward R. Stettinius) hasn't yet been sworn in.

Q. No, I didn't mean that. I meant new positions.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think probably better let him get sworn in first, and take a look around.

Q. Mr. President, have you any comment to make on General (Douglas) MacArthur's statement, which seems also to have attracted a great deal of attention?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't think so. There is nothing that I disagreed with. Everything he said is perfectly true. For instance, the island-hopping -- I think I said it in a speech last April or March -- we are all against island-hopping.

Q. That was what was rather perplexing about it, sir, that he should have mentioned it, and given the impression -- at least to the reader of it -- that his plans against island-hopping had been rejected ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) No.

Q. (continuing) --- and that we were now committed to a course of island-hopping.

THE PRESIDENT: No. Not for a minute. I am very much against it.

VOICES: Thank you, Mr. President.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #919
Executive Office of the President
October 1, 1943 -- 10.55 A.M., E.W.T.

MR. GODWIN: A hard-working President here, shirt-sleeves and all.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: Shirt-sleeve diplomacy, remember that?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Go on.

MR. GODWIN: Ed Stettinius (new Under Secretary of State).

THE PRESIDENT: I remember that antedated dollar diplomacy.

MR. GODWIN: Yes, that's right.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. GODWIN: With Ed Stettinius as a shirt-sleeved ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) What?

MR. GODWIN: Ed Stettinius would be a good shirt-sleeved diplomat.

THE PRESIDENT: I think so too.

MR. GODWIN: Don't you think so?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I have just -- about three minutes ago I got a flash from General Eisenhower, that at eleven o'clock this morning our troops entered Naples. (cries of "Ah" and "Good")

I don't think I have got anything else. (laughter)

Q. Did he say anything about conditions in the city?

THE PRESIDENT: No, not in here. (the flash)

Q. Mr. President, along that same vein, there have been some recent stories expressing worry over the situation inside Rome, particularly the Vatican. Do you have anything new on that?

THE PRESIDENT: No, there's nothing new on it, except the fact that in this advance from the present line I have seen some stories in the papers this morning that the next stand by the Germans would be on the line of Rome. I don't know where that comes from, because it is awfully difficult to guess where the next stand will be. One of the stories said that that was the next line of hills. Well, that is substantially not true, because there are hills between the present line and the Rome line all the way, with the exception of a few plains like the Foggia plain. And I don't know where the Germans are going to make a stand, and I don't think General Eisenhower knows.

However, there is one thing that I think we can say, and that is that naturally the advance is going to continue, and that every effort shall be made by the Allies to prevent any damage to Rome, and of course to the Vatican. We are doing everything possible to prevent active fighting leading to any destruction in Rome. I can't go into any details, but that is the objective.

I think that from all we know, that Rome is definitely occupied by the Germans. I think it is also clear that the Vatican is surrounded, in the same sense that they have had German troops in the -- what is it? -- the Colonnade, where Saint Peter's -- Saint Peter's Square; and that -- I don't want to say that the Holy Fathers are in a state of siege, but if you have troops in your front yard, and everybody going in or out is questioned and inspected, it isn't a very -- you can't say that it is complete freedom.

And of course, in a sense, our march northward is a march looking toward the liberation of Rome and the Vatican, and the Pope. We are going actually just as fast as we can, and we hope that Rome will be restored, both in culture and the monuments, and the religious capital of the Catholic Church, without any -- any destruction.

The -- in the last analysis, it will be the Germans who will decide it, and not ourselves.

Some people have referred to it as a kind of a crusade to free Rome and the Vatican. I think it has certain elements of a crusade.

I don't think there's anything else on it.

MR. GODWIN: Do you not think, sir, that there is a possibility the Nazi armies will endeavor to induce destruction from our side?

THE PRESIDENT: That is perfectly possible.

MR. GODWIN: Possible -- blame it on ourselves.

THE PRESIDENT: Perfectly possible.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, can you tell us anything about ---

Q. (interposing) When you talked -- when you talked with Mr. Walker (Postmaster General) yesterday, did you take up the Commissioner of Internal Revenue?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no, ---

Q. (interposing) Can you tell us anything about ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- actually I don't think I talked to him at all. I think he just brought somebody in to be introduced.

Q. Can you tell us anything at this time, sir, concerning the future of General Marshall?

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) No.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, can you ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) You know, it might be possible, if it hadn't been determined, and there are a -- lots of people's faces would get red.

MR. GODWIN: Did you see the New York Times's story about that this morning?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

MR. GODWIN: They have it.

THE PRESIDENT: Have they?

MR. GODWIN: From London.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you know, that's another -- this is off the record, of course -- it's one of those curious things, but we all know among ourselves, sometimes, that stories out of here get telegraphed to London, and then a

London date-line put out.

MR. GODWIN: (interjecting) Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) That is just one of the -- one of the old -- it's part of the game.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell anything about the visit with Norman Armour?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think there's anything to tell. I said the other day he is going back, but the date hasn't been determined. That's about all there was. All the rest was public news ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- about the Argentine.

Q. (continuing) --- can you tell us the purpose of your conference yesterday with (Lieutenant) General Omar Bradley?

THE PRESIDENT: I wanted to talk over the Italian -- the Sicilian and the Italian campaigns with him. I haven't seen him since the -- since the Tunis campaign.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us when you are going to send a Message to Congress on food, or subsidies? There's a story that ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I haven't written anything yet. I am going to decide on the whole thing over the weekend.

Q. What will be the subject?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. What will be the subject?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, there are -- Oh, what? -- ten or fifteen of them.

Q. (interjecting) Which one comes first?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I have got a lot of messages, but I haven't gotten around to sending any this week.

Q. Mr. President, is Mr. Edwin Wilson still Ambassador of Panama, although on the Mediterranean Commission?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I don't know what his official status is. He is going over to be the -- I don't know if it has been announced, or not ---

VOICES: (interjecting) Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- to be the American member of the -- what I call the Mediterranean Commission.

Q. Mr. President, the returning Senators who have been around the world have manifested considerable concern as to our ability to use air bases, and so forth, after the war, claiming that six months after it's over, it's over for us commercially too. Is there anything that is being done along the line of establishing ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) We have been working on that for about, I should think, six or eight months, and they are getting along. But, of course, there are so many ifs and ands on the termination of the war.

And then I can say this, that the objectives are rather -- rather simple. In other words, that we will have a free air, and the -- with one -- with one limitation, and that is that we all feel -- I have talked with the Prime Minister about this, and various other people have talked to other Allies in the war -- we all feel that internal aviation ought to be owned and run by the country itself.

In other words, let -- let me put it this way. Suppose that a Canadian line -- what? -- to the Bahamas ---

Q. (interposing) Sir?

MR. EARLY: Bahamas.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Didn't hear that, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Canadian airline to the Bahamas, or to Puerto Rico. One is British, and the other is American. There is no reason in the world why that line should not be allowed, and allow the Canadian planes to refuel in this country, but not to pick up passengers from, let us say, Buffalo to Miami. You see the point? That -- that would be internal communication and transportation. There is no reason they shouldn't refuel in this country.

And I am -- and -- and I will give you another instance. A British line from England to Australia or New Zealand, headed this way, there is no reason they shouldn't refuel in New York and San Francisco. They ought not to be allowed to pick up American passengers in New York or San Francisco.

MR. GODWIN: (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) And I think we will agree on that.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- could you substitute the word "African" for some of those places?

THE PRESIDENT: Same thing.

MR. GODWIN: These Senators were all upset about the African ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Same thing exactly.

Q. Mr. President, is it your -- your view that this plan of a -- a free air is also shared by Mr. Churchill, I thought you said?

THE PRESIDENT: I think so, Yes.

Q. Yes.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Think -- think it has been under study for quite a long while. And we have -- we have talked it over informally, but it -- it hardly -- hardly reached the stage of talking about individual airports and things like that.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) And also, I think we are agreed that commercial and passenger air navigation, where -- where the -- the route can be made to pay for private concerns, should be run by private concerns and not by Government.

Q. (interposing) Well, Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) So that that is quite an important point that should be made now, because it will avoid a whole lot of silly discussion later on. In other words, we don't -- we don't want to put the Government into the commercial and passenger air business.

There would be a few -- probably a few exceptions to that -- to that rule. For instance, we might find some part of the earth that we would want communication with, and on that particular run it wouldn't pay -- you couldn't get private capital to go into it. Well, in that case, if we all thought it -- Congress thought -- such an important point to have communication with it, then probably we could have a Government or a United Nations line, which of course would be run at a loss, but for the sake of opening up new territory.

Q. Well, Mr. President, are they right in their fear that we have no assurance six months after the war of any bases in other countries or islands, or the right of establishing airlines ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Well, I would say, in the same sense, that we have no assurance that six months after -- after the war is over you and I will be alive.

I think it's going to work out all right.

Q. Mr. President, in your definition of free air, you meant, I presume, free use of airports now being built?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes.

Q. Mr. President, does the ownership of those airports make any difference that you see?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so. I don't know why, if we say over here in this country that we want American citizens to own American ports, why we would have any right to say to the British that we wanted to buy the Croydon airport. Mutuality.

Q. Well, part of this agitation seems to be that we should exercise sovereignty over airports built with our money in foreign countries.

THE PRESIDENT: What? How would we like that if they said that to us?

Q. Mr. President, another question enters into this international airways, such for instance as the -- as our making a reciprocal arrangement with England, whereby we carry passengers to England on our planes, and they carry passengers from England to the United States on their planes.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, that -- that ---

Q. (adding) It's a matter of rates.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. (continuing) They have a lower standard of living, they have lower wages -- perhaps subsidies -- with the possibility that American competition couldn't last very long. I understand that the airlines want to -- want to have identical rates in a case of that sort.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you know in the old days -- you are too young to remember it -- the terrible row of fights between the shipping lines, every line trying to under-cut every other line. And it got to the point finally where you could -- this was the day of the great immigrations to this country -- you could bring immigrants in here from the other side for about 25 dollars apiece, all carried at a loss.

It was an effort to -- to get the mastery of the immigrant trade.

Well finally, as you know, we came to a form of subsidy. A good many years ago it was called -- it was disguised but it was a subsidy, and we might as well meet that frankly -- it was a "mail" subsidy, but actually it was a subsidy. It was not -- it was disguised under the word "mail."

Now I don't know -- we haven't got to the point -- that is -- that is a detail -- of making it possible for American lines to live in competition with other countries. The only other answer is to bring their cost of living, wages, and things like that, up to ours. I think that's a little bit more difficult method of handling it.

Q. Mr. President, those same Senators, I believe, were somewhat concerned over the depletion of our own oil resources by the war effort, when a great deal more of the oil might come out of Iran and Iraq.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I have asked -- I have asked the aviation people -- and the Army, because an awful lot goes into trucks -- to find how much we use in comparison with the other Allies. I haven't got those figures, therefore you can't make a comparison until you get the other side of it.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(Notebook PC-XV -- Page 128 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #920
Executive Office of the President
October 5, 1943 -- 4.03 P.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: Somebody asked me the other day about somebody else who had -- I think it was without very much investigation -- spoken about the supply of oil to the ---

Q. (interjecting) Louder.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- Allied armies and navies. I said the thing had been under constant checkup, and I would find out about it. Well, this is the result. This is not to be taken as a statement from me, but if you want copies of it -- the gist of it -- Bill Hassett will have them.

The impression is getting around that the British have been refraining from supplying oil from their controlled resources, in order to preserve their reserves for future use. But the facts do not support this impression.

The British have been anxious to increase the delivery of oil from their controlled resources for the bunkering of vessels for civilian consumption, and for phases of the war program.. Tanker tonnage has been up until very recently the restricting factor in providing theatres of war and the civil population with an adequate supply of petroleum products.

It has consequently been imperative that tankers be employed in the shortest haul, regardless of supply resources, so that the largest possible amount of oil would be moved in the fewest possible number of ships.

Well, you know -- what is it? -- six months ago we were all of us having an awful time over a sufficient supply of tankers to supply the armies and the fighting fronts -- Australia, and the Mediterranean, and everything else. And the proportion of tankers that had been sunk by submarines was very high. Then about -- beginning about six months ago, the situation began to get better, and we weren't losing nearly as many tankers as we had before that. But the situation of the shortage of tankers was the over-riding factor in the distribution of oil.

The distance from Abadan in Iran -- that is up the Persian Gulf -- for instance, to Noumea, Caledonia -- New Caledonia, is 9 thousand 8 hundred miles, compared with 5 thousand 7 hundred miles from California to Noumea. And from the United -- the United States Gulf -- Gulf of Mexico -- and Caribbean ports to the United Kingdom was 46 hundred miles compared with 11 thousand miles from Abadan round the Cape -- Cape of Good Hope -- to the United Kingdom.

It is obvious that one ship will therefore carry more oil from California to Noumea than a ship from Abadan to Noumea. And the same way, the ship would carry more oil, because of the shorter distance, from the United States Gulf and Caribbean area to the U.K. than from the Persian Gulf to the U.K. When ships are scarce, the increased amount that can be carried on the short haul as compared with long haul is the controlling factor.

Now that was the condition until very recently, and until the Mediterranean was pretty well opened up. And the opening up of the Mediterranean was the result of our occupation of Sicily and the lower part of Italy. Had the British been permitted to increase the supply from the Persian Gulf, before the Mediterranean was opened up, a wastage of our very meager supply of tankers would have resulted, and the extent of our military and naval operations would have been seriously restricted.

When, however, a short while ago the Mediterranean began to open up to our ships, and it appeared tanker tonnage would increase in relation to the demand -- that was less sinkings -- the War Shipping Administration, the British Ministry of War Transport, the Petroleum Administration for War, and other Government agencies, began to arrange for a re-allocation of the tanker tonnage so as to alleviate the disproportionate drain on the reserves of the United States in the Western hemisphere, and at the same time to effect a distribution of the supply of oil between American and British controlled sources. And that will require of the British a fairer and larger share.

Such a program is merely carrying out the policy directive long since issued by the War Mobilization Committee, at my suggestion, to all interested agencies, that in order to relieve the demands on our own crude oil reserves and refining capacity, crude oil production as well as existing refining capacity, primarily from the Middle East and secondarily for the Caribbean area, should be increased and used to the fullest extent possible within the limitations of shipping facilities for meeting the heavy demands for petroleum in the war effort.

The improved transportation situation, through the increase in tanker tonnage, and the opening up of the Mediterranean, has enabled us to make definite progress with this program. Arrangements are now being made to increase the movement of gasoline and distillate fuels from Abadan -- that is the Persian Gulf -- to points previously supplied from Western hemisphere sources. Substantial shipments of crude oil are being brought to our own East Coast from the Caribbean in order to utilize fully our refining capacity.

Within the limits of shipping, everything is being done to reduce military demands of the United Nations on our own oil reserves and refining capacity.

In other words, the scare is proving not to be a scare. The situation is well in hand.

Q. Mr. President, you said that isn't to be taken as a statement from you. Is it a statement from anyone else of the situation?

THE PRESIDENT: No. You can say that I explained it, but put it third-person. Don't -- don't put it in a quote.

Q. Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) What?

Q. (continuing) --- the Ways and Means Committee has reacted rather unfavorably to the tax program, and I wonder if you would care to make any comment on it?

THE PRESIDENT: On the tax thing?

Q. The reaction of the Ways and Means Committee to it?

THE PRESIDENT: No, no. The next action is on the part of the Ways and Means Committee.

I had brought over to show you one of the most beautiful -- I don't know whether it's a sword or a scimitar. You can look at it after the conference. It was sent me by the King of Arabia (Ibn Saud) whose two sons were here the other day, you know. A very wonderful piece of Arabic workmanship. And one of the most valuable parts on it is the Damascus blade, which goes back many centuries. The -- the mounting is much -- on the scabbard -- much more modern, but the Damascus blades, so Amir Faisal told me the other day, are extremely rare. Of course, the world has not known how to make Damascus or Toledo blades, I suppose, for a good many centuries, but this blade is an original piece of Damascus steel, and I thought you would be interested in seeing it.

For just a very small handful of you, I might add that this was a gift not to Franklin Roosevelt but to the President of the United States. (laughter)

Q. (interjecting) Are you referring to the Ways and Means Committee? (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) And it won't cost the taxpayers anything.

Q. Mr. President, did the call of the sons of the

King of Arabia have any bearing on the oil question which you were just discussing?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No. No, it just happened one followed the other, that's all.

War operations -- there isn't very much news. In the -- in Italy, the Fifth Army and the Eighth Army are consolidating their positions, and making fairly good progress up the peninsula. As I said the other day, nobody knows yet where the Germans are going to make their next main stand. And I would call attention to the fact that in the -- in the center, and to a certain extent on the right flank, they have to traverse mountain ranges that go as high as eight or nine thousand feet high. So it isn't just an afternoon's walk.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us something about the organization of the Fifth army, sometimes referred to as an American army and then with reference to a British?

THE PRESIDENT: They are both. Both British and American.

Q. Mr. President, we understand that your former Ambassador, Mr. (William C.) Bullitt, is running for office up in Philadelphia.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) Have you any comment on his candidacy, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Not politically. As you know, Bill is an old friend of mine. I can't comment on -- on his campaign any more than I can campaign for mayor in any other part of the country, except the State of New York. That's old stuff. I was very, very glad to hear that he was going to run, when he told me about it.

Q. Anything at all, Mr. President, on your visit last evening with the Chilean Foreign Minister (Joaquin Fernandez)?

THE PRESIDENT: I had a very good talk with him.

Q. Mr. President, do you have any observations on a Japanese code that would permit the beheading of an Allied aviator?

THE PRESIDENT: I have nothing more than what the papers have got.

Q. Would you care to express any opinions on that action?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that the country has drawn its own conclusions from it. It isn't the first instance of barbaric conduct on the part of the Japanese. We have a number of other instances -- not of beheading but of the kind of inhuman, cruel treatment that -- I suppose this is the worst thing I could say to the Japanese -- shows their lack of civilization. That is the one thing that gets under their skin, when you accuse them of not being civilized. I think you can use that. I don't very much care if I offend their feelings. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, you made an exception in the case of New York State. We have an election on up there.

Is there something you would care to say about it?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Only my usual. I expect to vote for my old friend and associate who was part of my administration when I was Governor -- General Haskell.

Q. Mr. President, we understand that Mr. (James F.) Byrnes (War Mobilization Director) is calling an inter-departmental meeting of interested offices in connection with the immediate benefits to soldiers who are coming home incapacitated for further -- for further service. Could you tell us something about what you might have in mind in connection with such a program?

THE PRESIDENT: That's why the conference is being called -- to talk it over.

Q. Are there any specific proposals, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: No, not yet. We want to hear everybody first.

Q. When is that conference, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. Very soon, I think.

Then, on the other front, the Solomons and New Guinea, I think some attention -- a little more attention should be given to the -- what amounts to a real defeat of the Japanese, in their retirement from the central Solomon Islands.

There isn't a day goes by that our air and our naval forces don't account for quite a number of Japanese barges, and apparently these barges are both wood and steel. And we are destroying a great many of them all the time. Of course, they are not large ships, but the destruction of those barges must mean a great deal to the Japs in slowing up their movements, either for defense or -- or offense in that area. You have read -- read about it so often that I think we are apt to overlook the fact that in the past -- what? -- thirty days we have destroyed a very large number of barges, which is the only means of transport that they are using from island to island, with of course occasional very small escorts -- destroyers. We are also getting a certain number of those escorts.

Well, the net result is that it's a proof, I think, of Japanese weakness in that whole area, both on New Guinea, Salamaua, and Lae, and Finschhafen, and their last-minute evacuation from a number of these places. We are getting a good many of them when they start to evacuate. It is in line with their mass retreat at -- at Kiska, and the whole operation is proving that the legend of Japanese invincibility is not being carried out by them.

I have got only one other thing. I will make it off the record -- entirely off the record. It's just -- just another instance of -- I will be polite and call it carelessness on the part of some people in this country. And this doesn't apply to the press -- it may apply to certain small sections of the press.

I got from England the other day, it came from our Embassy over there, a very simple statement. It came from Winant.

(reading): "The Daily Mirror today publishes -- that is the English Daily Mirror -- publishes the following dispatch from its New York correspondent."

I don't know the man's name; there's no use to put it in here.

(continuing reading): "A strong group of United States Senators will open a campaign in Congress next week to have General MacArthur made supreme commander of the Asiatic war theatre. This group openly expresses -- mind you, this is the New York dispatch -- openly expresses disapproval of the appointment of Lord Louis Mountbatten to Southeastern Asia, believing that the entire campaign should be under MacArthur.

"Senator Bridges, who will lead the -- this is all quotes -- lead the Senate campaign for MacArthur said today -- quote -- 'We have recently won much new support in the Senate.' The Senate battle is being -- I love it -- the Senate battle is being preceded by a vitriolic anti-Mountbatten campaign in a section of the American press. The Ohio State Journal contrasts the 'sincere attitude' of MacArthur with 'the somewhat flamboyant air of Mountbatten' adding 'it would be a tragic thing if MacArthur were to be shorn of his authority while in London a glamour boy is elevated.'

"Some papers are publishing letters from readers containing insulting references to Mountbatten. Here is an example, quote, 'If it turns out that America's number one hero MacArthur is to play a subordinate role to ex-playboy

Mountbatten in the Far East, a wave of anger will sweep this nation that will bode certain Washington people no good.'"

And Winant's only comment at the bottom is, "This type of press story is certainly not helpful." Which I might add is an under-statement on the part of the American Ambassador.

Well, that kind of thing doesn't help this war. That's all right too. The press has a perfect right to do that sort of thing. Most of the press -- a great majority -- wouldn't think of doing a thing like that. It isn't a campaign thing then, within the press as a whole, for doing it; but we all know that there are certain papers and certain individuals who not only don't hesitate to do a thing like that, but rather specialize in it.

Now as a matter of fact, all these stories written with malice aforethought or otherwise, they show an extraordinary ignorance of geography -- my old hobby. You have got a situation today where the only way that MacArthur could get to Mountbatten, or Mountbatten get to MacArthur, say -- suppose Mountbatten wanted to go down and talk to MacArthur? How would he get there? He can't go by air direct. He has to go from Burma back -- he has got to back-track. He has to go southwest to Colombo, Ceylon, and then follow the rather risky flight that the Senators took about a month ago. It's a 32 mile -- 32 hundred mile hop from Colombo, Ceylon, to Australia. It's always a risk in a plane making a 32 hundred mile hop with no landing place. And the same way, if MacArthur wanted to see Mountbatten personally, he would have to make that long hop to Colombo and then back-track and go northeast up -- up to Burma.

Physically, those two theatres of operations -- Burma on the one side and Australia on the other -- are just as far apart as we are from -- from France. Well, you can't have a -- a command of an area or two areas that are one thousand miles apart, that is perfectly obvious. It's a -- it's an entirely different operation. The supplies to Australia, for example, all come from over here, from San Francisco or the East Coast, through the Panama Canal. All the supplies for the Burma forces and the China forces go -- did go around the Cape of Good Hope. Now, most of them are going through the Mediterranean, since we have got it opened up. They go to Karachi in India, and then across India by rail to our forces in Burma, and then over the mountains to our forces in China.

If -- if, for example, any of our commanding officers in Australia wanted to go up and see Chennault in China, they couldn't go. They would have -- they would have to go clear back to Colombo, Ceylon, and then to Burma, and then over the hill to China.

So it's a question of -- what shall I say? -- not even adolescent geography because most adolescents know their geography better than that.

So that's all off the record. It's just for information.

Q. Mr. President, is it still too early to say anything about Secretary Hull's going to Moscow?

THE PRESIDENT: You would have to ask him.

Q. Ask him?

THE PRESIDENT: I saw him this morning. He hadn't made up his mind when to spill the beans. (laughter)

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(Notebook PC-XV -- Page 142 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #921
Executive Office of the President
October 12, 1943 -- 4.21 P.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I think the important news today is the -- the agreement that has been made between Britain and Portugal for the use of certain bases in the Azores.

The origin of this was at the conference between Mr. Churchill and me last May when he was here. And the reason is -- perfectly simple one -- is that it was made by the British because it was based on a treaty of alliance between Britain and Portugal that goes back, the inception of it -- as I remember it -- in the 13th century. It's quite far back.

Q. 14th.

Q. 14th.

THE PRESIDENT: 14th? 14th century, that's right -- thirteen hundred and something (1373).

And it has been an actual treaty, still in existence, that was made as a formal document in the reign of King Charles First, or King Charles Second. In other words, round -- round the -- I think it was Charles Second -- around the end of the 17th century.

And you will probably all want to know where we get off. Well, first of all, where do Britain and ourselves get off? We have assured Portugal -- so has Britain -- that we have no desire to gain territory by taking the Azores away from Portugal. Portugal has that assurance from us as well as Britain. And in the second place, on the actual use of the Azores, I think that all you can say at the present time is that Britain and ourselves are allies, trying to win the war; that we conduct joint operations. And while we have no agreement with Portugal, it seems obvious that in -- what shall I call it? -- in emergency cases we would use British facilities to protect American life and American ships. Period.

Q. Mr. President, in your speech in May 1941, you also spoke of the importance of the Cape Verde Islands. I wonder if they entered the picture at all now?

THE PRESIDENT: Not at the present time.

Q. Sir, you speak of these assurances giving -- given to Portugal by us. Are they recent assurances, or the old ones we gave in 1941?

THE PRESIDENT: Recent. Since last May.

Q. Mr. President, can you say anything about other United Nations going in there in emergencies also?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I think it might apply to not necessarily United Nations, but nations that are at war, just the way we are. I don't think, for instance, that El Salvador, which is a United Nation, would use the facilities, because I don't think they have got any ships running across the ocean.

Q. Mr. President, the government of Venezuela announced yesterday that their President is coming up here to make a visit. Can you tell us something about that?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. I invited him sometime ago, and I understand he is coming up -- I have forgotten the exact date -- in January, I think. But you had better let me -- let me check on that. Wilson (Brown the President's Naval Aide), will you check on that? I have got a cable in today. It's either December or January.

Q. Mr. President, have you any comment on the fact that a vice president has been appointed in Argentina?

THE PRESIDENT: Didn't even know it. (laughter) Don't say I said that, because I should. (more laughter)

I have got some statistics here, which if you want to use them I will get -- I haven't had them mimeographed, but they are rather interesting.

In that big raid of our planes out of England the other day, when we sent out 855 planes last Friday against Bremen and Vegesack, I would like people in this country to get some idea of how they are contributing to a raid of that kind, and what -- what -- what it means in the way of supplies, quite aside from the training of men and the building of planes, to make that raid possible.

They carried some two and a half million pounds of bombs. It's a graphic way of showing how the united effort in this country is helping to wage the war on the other side.

Two and three quarter million rounds of ammunition.

Q. Million, or billions, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Million -- two and three quarter million rounds of ammunition.

Eight hundred pounds of maps. (exclamations from the newspapermen)

They flew a distance of at least 850 thousand miles. And in taking off and landing and taxi-ing, they traveled over 14 hundred miles on the ground.

They burned almost a million gallons of gasoline. And that is one reason for cutting down on automobile travel in this country.

And they burned 25 thousand gallons of oil.

There were more than five thousand American crew members that took part in it, and they were over on the flight -- they were over enemy territory for periods ranging from two to six hours.

Then, on the -- on the naval end, I have said something before about the -- what I thought was almost a lack of credit for what our submarines are doing in the Pacific. It's an amazing record. And I think I mentioned before that we believe, honestly, that we are sinking a great deal larger Jap tonnage each month than they can possibly replace. The average monthly sinkings during the past six months, mostly by American submarines, is approximately 130 thousand tons of their shipping a month. Well, you see, that is about a million four hundred thousand tons, if it goes on at the yearly rate, and half of that, about -- about 750 thousand tons for six months -- 700 thousand tons.

And I got one other thing, as a suggestion to people in this country, which comes from the other side. Actually, it came from one of the newspapermen over there, who sensed the feelings of people in the -- in fact, he had come out -- been in and come out of one of the occupied parts. And I think that it is very important to the morale of the French in France for us to occasionally give a hand to certain people in certain happenings in the occupied countries. For example, France as a whole isn't aware, because they haven't got many methods -- means of communications -- they are thrilled at the liberation of Corsica. And this particular man suggested to me that if a few people in this country could give a little "glad hand," it would be a grand thing for the morale of the French people everywhere. Corsica is a very tangible part of France itself, although it happens to be an island right off France and governed by France itself; and if people could say something about, "Here is the first instance of a place right close to the mainland of France which has been liberated from the German yoke." We need a little bit more of -- as he put it -- of applause rather than Bronx cheers.

Well, I don't think I have got anything else.

Q. Mr. President, in connection with these figures, a few months ago you called this a war of liberation ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- a war of survival, rather. The war seems now to be going into a new stage. Do you think that the war of survival still applies, with figures like this?

THE PRESIDENT: I said a war of survival? About what? Japanese shipping?

Q. No. In providing -- giving a name to the present world war?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh -- Oh. It's a different thing altogether. I don't know, I had forgotten that. (laughter)

Q. Hitler might call it that, might he not?

THE PRESIDENT: I never read his mind. (adding) Thank God. (then to Charlie Fredericks, his personal bodyguard) Let me have a cigarette in that back pocket (of his coat hanging on the chair).

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(the newsmen started to leave)

THE PRESIDENT: I tell you what -- I have got one thing. I thought somebody would ask the question, but I didn't hear it. (laughter)

Ah, I've got it. I was looking for my cigarette case. (it was on his desk under some papers)

You remember we took up last week the question, which I ran down, about the use of oil -- British oil versus American oil. And of course, when the story was given out by one of the travelers on the Hill -- five of them who were fellow travelers -- (laughter) -- we demonstrated quite clearly that if a year ago, before the Mediterranean was opened and when the submarine sinkings were very high, that if we had adopted the policy of using raw materials in accordance with the size or wealth of a country, or available supplies, that we would have got far less oil to the battlefronts. And evidently this particular gentleman would have advocated at that time that we should have used oil solely in connection with the ownership of it, and regardless of the fighting needs of getting the oil there with the -- with the least risk.

And I don't think that you can run a war that way. It isn't conducive to the winning of a war, if you base -- base the winning of it on who owns the oil, and where. You use it the nearest place you can get it, if you want to win the war.

Well, another question came up. There was one gentleman, I may be -- I may be misquoting him, who talked about 30 thousand civilian trucks which had been sent to Australia, obviously with the implication that we shouldn't have sent civilian trucks to Australia. So I checked up on it, before I got back this morning, and I found the following facts.

In the first place, the basic figures that were cited by this fellow traveler are wrong. He said 30 thousand trucks a year, at least he was so quoted. Actually, in two and a half years we have shipped to Australia a total of 21 thousand, 135 trucks. It's rather a serious discrepancy. And during that same period we have turned over for civilian use in the United States 750 thousand trucks. Well, that's neither here nor there, it's just a little comparison.

But there are certain other factors. We had on hand in this country a very large number of trucks at the outbreak of the war, a far larger portion of trucks in the United States than they had in Australia, proportionately.

And incidentally, in Australia, those of you who have been there know that in the -- in each State they have a different gauge of railroad track. You can't -- you can't -- you can't put things onto a railroad at one end of Australia and send it to the other end without changing from one freight car to another about four separate times, which is not conducive to quick or efficient transportation in time of war.

The result was that they needed relatively more highway use for their freight and the moving of supplies, relatively, than we do here. They needed, in other words, relatively more trucks than they did railroad cars. But the chief trouble was -- in this statement -- was that the trucks were called civilian trucks. They were only civilian trucks in the sense that they were not of military design. That is the distinction which is made in the War Department.

And of these trucks some 12 thousand of the 21 thousand sent were commandeered by the Australian army for straight military transport. Over half were immediately commandeered, and all the others that were run by private companies -- not the government itself -- the majority were used by the private companies for war transportation.

And then finally, they failed to note, in this statement, that all of these trucks were ordered with the approval of General MacArthur.

So much for that.

I have got a flock more things, but you've got enough today. (laughter)

MAY CRAIG: Well, Mr. President, I would like to ask, as long as you are commenting on the five travelers, will you comment on the million men that could be saved with Russian bases?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes! I've got one on that! (laughter) May, you're a mind-reader.

Oh, let's see, where is that?

(pause)

Well now, -- now let's get -- let's get geographical. As I understand it, he said we would save a million American lives if the Russians would let us use their bases in the Pacific.

Well, let's do a little old-fashioned practical work -- on you, May. (laughter)

MAY CRAIG: (interjecting) Can't do arithmetic.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Supposing -- supposing, just you and I, supposing we were to use those Russian bases. What would be the first thing we would do? We would have to send some troops over there, and some labor, and then we would send a lot of planes.

What do you think the Japs would do then? They would try to stop it, is that right? They would try to stop us.

How would they stop us? Maybe they didn't find out about it until we got some planes there. They would start invading Siberia, wouldn't they?

Now, if they invaded Siberia, I suppose the Russians would resist, wouldn't they? But Russia -- suppose Russia isn't ready to go to war with Japan at the present time, what happens then?

In other words, doesn't it all come down to the practical question: Does Russia -- is Russia going to war with Japan at the present time?

Suppose Russia says, "No, we don't want to, at the present time, we have got something more important in hand; we have knocked Germany down three or four times; if we can knock her down three or four times more, maybe she will take the count"? That is rather practical.

Now are you really able to say that in general strategy that we ought to stand up and demand that Russia go to war with -- with Japan? I don't think you and I know enough about it.

Q. Mr. President, in the New York Times this morning there is a rather thoughtful story out of London, that all this discussion about joint rights in the air bases and oil fields all over the world, which have been emphasized by the Senators, is an unfortunate thing. Is that the way you feel about it?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I got an excerpt from some of the London papers.

We always have to remember that when public servants get up in a legislative body, or in an administration -- either one -- and say things, and not -- the effect of which is not carefully thought out -- this is the press too -- it does create bitterness in other places. And I don't think one of our roles -- that is on the part of those people and papers that would like to win the war -- that doesn't mean everybody -- I don't think we ought to deliberately go out and try to create bitterness. And yet some of these British editorials have shown bitterness.

For instance, the Daily Telegraph charged that "the so called secrets, which of course weren't secrets, disclosed by the Senators during closed sessions of the Congress were childish nonsense." Then it went on and called for public debate on the whole matter, on the general ground that long-range results will probably be excellent, improving and making even more lasting Anglo-American cooperation.

Now that is why I am of two minds. Oh, it takes me a certain amount of time to dig up stuff like what I have been talking about this morning, and last week. It's time consuming. And -- but it -- it -- it does -- it does lead up to a more sound public opinion. It gets them interested; teaches them geography; it teaches them problems of -- of supply; moving men overseas; the need for more -- more ships; and the need -- need for more planes, more everything else.

So, in -- in one sense I -- it's a damn nuisance -- perfectly easy to answer; and in the other sense probably it's a good thing. It makes for publicity and discussion and everything like that. And I have -- I have never -- I have never deliberately dodged that, have I?

Q. No sir, but basically can you give any assurance as to guarantees that might satisfy these people a little bit, guarantees as to progress going beyond the immediate present?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think a large majority are not deeply hurt by it. I think they understand that it's part of democracy.

Q. Mr. President, there is another conflict of testimony that you might clear up. One of the Senators said that the British -- British officers wore American uniforms to avoid being shot by the French. Another report is that they wore the American uniform because they -- the pants are long-legged and protected them against mosquitos. Could you tell us about that?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that -- I think that's a matter that is very properly for Senatorial debate. (laughter) But, as long as I was talking about trousers, it had better be a closed debate. (more laughter)

VOICES: Thank you, Mr. President.

MAY CRAIG: You did all right.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #922
Executive Office of the President
October 15, 1943 -- 11.10 A.M., E.W.T.

Q. Good morning.

THE PRESIDENT: How are you all today?

MAY CRAIG: (to Earl Godwin, seeking a chair) You're too big.

MR. GODWIN: Ah, a chair.

THE PRESIDENT: (to Earl Godwin) Ask May if she wants to debate today.

MR. GODWIN: What?

THE PRESIDENT: Ask May if she wants to debate today.

MR. GODWIN: May wants to debate?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I had one the other day. You weren't here. We had a very effective debate.

MR. GODWIN: I was in Richmond. I know you did, I heard all about it in Richmond.

MAY CRAIG: I haven't gone down yet, have I?

MR. GODWIN: No. (laughter)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have got a flock of things.

I am sorry to be late. I have been saying good-bye to the President of Haiti.

The first is -- I will give you a copy when you go out, of a letter accepting with great regret the resignation of Monsignor (Francis J.) Haas as Chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Committee. He has just been chosen as Bishop of Grand Rapids. And he has done so awfully well there, and we are terribly sorry to have him go.

I am putting in, in his place, Mr. Malcolm Ross his Deputy Chairman. And the letters are in here. (indicating the release before him)

Last night we had a very successful dinner, which I think everybody enjoyed down to the President of Haiti. He is an old friend of mine, and a good many others in Washington, as he was Ambassador here. And he made a very delightful speech. As you all know, Haiti for a great many years -- I have taken a great interest in it. It's a -- what I said, there were several things here -- (indicating typewritten sheets in front of him) -- that -- I don't know, Bill, I don't see why you shouldn't show them this, if you want to ---

MR. HASSETT: (interjecting) All right.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- if you want to write something on it.

I brought out one thing, and that is that Haiti has contributed very greatly to the war. It's a very small place, but a very large population, nearly three million people. But they have been very loyal -- they are one of the United Nations -- and have accepted suggestions that would help in the carrying on of the war.

For example, they have planted a huge acreage in -- what's the name of the thing?

Q. Cryptostegia, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Cryptostegia. I never can remember the name, but anyway it's a perfectly good plant. This year they will produce probably ten thousand tons of the product, that we might as well call rubber, because it is rubber, but it doesn't come from a rubber tree. And in many other ways they have assisted in growing things, and getting things out that are very much needed in the war.

I did take occasion to say, in what I said last night, that they are confronted with a -- a post-war problem in giving all this aid to the cause of the Allies, and that the problem was this.

At the end of this war, we are going to have all over the world an immense amount of rubber coming from different kinds of plants -- cryptostegia, and -- and rubber trees, and to a certain extent guayule -- which undoubtedly is far cheaper to make tires out of than synthetic rubber; but there probably will be -- knowing this country somewhat well, politically -- an -- an effort on the part of some people to put the kind of a tariff on rubber that will protect the operation of the synthetic rubber plants. And we might as well realize that today.

I said last night:

(reading, but not literally from the transcript): "At the present time, Haiti is engaged in the cultivation of a new plant, cryptostegia, which turns out rubber. This year they will be getting out ten thousand tons. I hope that, when I am out of the White House, somebody will veto (** see end of Press Conference) any effort to put a high tariff on rubber just for the purpose of keeping some of the synthetic plants going. That would mean that every man in the United States who owned a car would have to pay fifty percent more for his rubber for his tires. I believe in cheap tires and more of them; and the best way of getting that is to use tires that are made by -- out of natural products, rubber, or guayule or cryptostegia, instead of out of a process -- synthetic process using oil and alcohol, and make everybody pay through the nose for their tires."

This is just -- Oh, it's just one of those things that may not become an issue for a long, long time, but people ought to be thinking about that fact.

We have another one that Steve will give you.

(reading): "I have been informed that the -- Bill will give you -- I have been informed by the -- that the Argentine government has suspended the publication of Jewish newspapers, some of which have been in existence for many years.

"While this matter is of course one which concerns primarily the Argentine government and people, I cannot forbear to give expression to my own feeling of apprehension at the taking in this hemisphere of action obviously anti-Semitic in nature, and of a character so closely identified with the most repugnant features of the Nazi doctrine. I believe that this feeling is shared by the people of the United States and by the people of all the other American Republics.

"In this connection, I recall that one of the resolutions adopted at the Eighth International Conference of American States at Lima in 1938 set forth the following, quote: 'Any persecution on account of racial or religious motives which make it impossible for a group of human beings to live decently is contrary to the political and juridical systems of America.'"

Q. Did Argentina subscribe to that?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Did Argentina subscribe to that?

THE PRESIDENT: I think they did, Yes. That is the Lima Conference.

Q. Sir, has any protest been made direct to the Argentina government?

THE PRESIDENT: You will have to ask the State Department. I think it will get down there fairly soon.

MR. GODWIN: Will we have a handout on that?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

(to Mr. Hassett) You have got that mimeographed?

MR. HASSETT: Yes. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Right.

Now, in regard to another piece of news.

(reading): "At my suggestion, Justice Byrnes, Director of War Mobilization, met yesterday with the heads of the various agencies concerned with the problems of terminating or revising war contracts in the light of the changing demands of our war strategy. The War and Navy Departments are now in the process of revising more than eight thousand contracts involving several billions of dollars.

"It is planned to set up within the Office of War Mobilization a unit to deal with war and post-war adjustment problems, and to develop unified programs and policies to be pursued by the various agencies of Government concerned. The unit will study and consider the whole range of problems which will ultimately arise out of the termination of war contracts, including the problems of war reconversion and disposition of plants and property no longer required for war use.

"The work has deliberately been placed within the Office of War Mobilization to insure that such re-shaping of the war program as may be required will be carried through with a view to increasing the effectiveness of the war effort."

You have to remember that we can't do any slapdash, rule-of-thumb stuff in revising war contracts and the disposition of plants, without first taking into consideration what effect it is going to have on the war itself.

(continuing reading): "While we must prepare for necessary post-war adjustments, this preparation must not interfere with the long and hard war programs which are still ahead of us."

MR. GODWIN: Sir, is that also a handout?

THE PRESIDENT: (to Mr. Hassett) Will you have that ---

MR. HASSETT: (interjecting) Yes. Yes, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- done too?

Q. Mr. President, in that connection, in the report which Mr. (Bernard) Baruch, I understand, made to Mr. Byrnes, which was later made public, he expressed the belief, as I remember it, that -- that a cost-plus-fixed-fee contract would be necessary at the opening of the war for the sake of speed, but now it is resulting in the hoarding of labor and so forth, and that that might well be abolished as a manpower move. Is there anything in that connection with regard to this contract which ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I don't think I am quite competent to talk about it, offhand. I will look it up, and I will ask Jimmy.

Q. Mr. President, does that bear in any way upon the demobilization problems?

THE PRESIDENT: No. We are still at work on the mobilization program.

Then on the -- well, what might be called the demobilization program, I think it is all right to say now that a year and a half ago the Secretary of State undertook, through special groups organized for the purpose, to examine the various matters affecting the conclusion of the war, the making of the peace, and the preparation for dealing with the international post-war problems. In doing this work, we have had the collaboration of representatives of other interested agencies of the Government, and of many national leaders in every -- every walk and every field, labor, capital and agriculture, without regard to political affiliation, and the assistance of a specially constituted and highly qualified research staff. We have been aided greatly by public discussion of the problems involved on the part of responsible private individuals and groups, and by numerous suggestions and expressions of opinion which we have received from all parts of the country. In proceeding with this work, we envisage the fullest cooperation between the Executive and the Legislative branches of the Government.

I won't go into any details now, because it has been going on in an -- in an orderly way. And I think for the time being that we had better go on in the same orderly way. I don't want to over-emphasize one thing or to under-emphasize other things.

On the various fronts, you have as much news as I have.

We are all very happy about the effective attack on Rabaul by the air -- Southwest Pacific. I suppose the -- the important lesson -- first important lesson of it is that it showed excellent cooperation between the various branches of the service and the various commands. And, at the same time, we have geographically to look at the chart of Rabaul, which is an extremely strong defensive position -- a tough nut to crack -- largely because of the shape of the harbor and the surrounding hills.

The principal gain is in the destruction of the enemy aircraft and ships. It will therefore have far-reaching effects on future operations in the Pacific, and carries out the -- the whittling down nature of reducing the number -- the net number of Japanese planes and Japanese ships.

I think that's all.

MR. GODWIN: Sir, have you -- on the other side, we had a little bad luck, or at least rather we lost a lot ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Very heavy loss (of 60 Flying Fortresses bombing Schweinfurt in Germany).

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) Have you anything to say about that, that would be enlightening or helpful?

THE PRESIDENT: I -- I -- put it this way, that of course we don't want to have a -- a net loss over a period of years or months greater than the -- a loss greater than the -- than the accretions. And I am not worried about that. We couldn't afford to lose sixty bombers every day, but we are not losing 6o bombers every day.

On the other side of the picture, we have to remember that we brought down, let us say, a hundred German fighter planes, which in the -- in the -- in manpower is not as much by any means as our loss of 60 bombers. Also, fighter planes can be turned out more cheaply and more quickly than bombers can. But we have to put on the credit side of the picture -- we haven't got the details of it yet -- the probability that we put out of commission a very, very large industrial plant, or plants, in Germany, thereby retarding their manufacture of the implements of war.

Q. Mr. President, has there -- have you received any reports to indicate whether there were special reasons for the loss, or was it simply the general hazards of flying to Central ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) That I don't know.

MR. GODWIN: Sir, to go back to Argentina, have you any unofficial news to the effect that Argentina is about to break off relations with the Axis? Have you anything that you care to say about that?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I don't think anybody -- I don't think anybody here knows, except what we have read in the papers.

MR. GODWIN: What you have seen in the papers?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(**) The original transcript read, "I might get beaten on it otherwise." This reporter, however, was not sure whether the President might not have said, "I might get vetoed on it otherwise." Mr. Hassett changed it to "vetoed" and the President read from that corrected version. It was later changed back to the original "beaten."

(Notebook PC-XV -- Page 178 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #923
Executive Office of the President
October 19, 1943 -- 4.15 P.M., E.W.T.

MR. GODWIN: How do you do, Mr. President?

THE PRESIDENT: I see "Madam President" behind you. (May Craig)

MR. GODWIN: Yes.

This comes to me ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) What?

MR. GODWIN: This comes to me at the White House. It's the Women's Christian Temperance Union paper.

THE PRESIDENT: It won't hurt you.

MR. GODWIN: I was going to say that they are trying to stop "Esquire" from going through the mails. (laughter)

MR. EARLY: Why don't you tell him you used to be their press agent?

MR. GODWIN: (to the President) I used to be their press agent. (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well! Did you ever write for the Police Gazette? (more laughter) If not, why not?

MR. GODWIN: Never had the opportunity.

THE PRESIDENT: I quit getting shaved in a barber shop when they cracked down on the Police Gazette. They were good. It was wonderful.

MR. GODWIN: I loved the old Police Gazette.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes. Especially the old ones. Remember the pictures on the outside?

MR. GODWIN: Billy Watson's "Beef Trust."

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I -- I haven't got much today.

I have appointed Mr. Philip D. Reed as Chief of the Mission for Economic Affairs in London, with the rank of Minister. He takes the place of Mr. (W. Averell) Harriman. He has been associated with Mr. Harriman for over a year.

Subject to the general control and supervision of the Ambassador -- Winant -- Mr. Reed is responsible for handling economic affairs of the Government in the U.K., representing all kinds of things: the Foreign Economic Administration, the War Shipping Administration, the War Food Administration, the War Production Board, the Petroleum Administration for War, and other interested agencies. (laughter) And he will also be a representative on the London portions of the several combined boards.

And then in -- I received with much regret the resignation of Ed Burke, a member of the S.E.C. (Securities and Exchange Commission), which he has been compelled to leave, the public service -- this is off the record -- I think because of a great many children -- (laughter) -- he can't make both ends meet. He really honestly has to get out for family reasons, you can put it. And I think that he (Steve Early) has mimeographed this -- I am putting in Mr. Robert Kendall McConnaughey in his place. I had better spell McConnaughey for you -- M-c-C-O-N-N-A-U-G-H-E-Y -- what nationality that represents, I don't know ---

Q. (interjecting) Scotch, Mr. President.

Q. (interjecting) Scotch.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- from Ohio. He was on the -- had various legal positions in the A.A.A. from 1934 to 1936, was on the staff of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce investigating railroad reorganizations, 1936 and 7. He was in the private practice of law in Dayton, Ohio, in 1937, and has worked with the Solicitor of the Department of Agriculture. 1938 to 1940, Special Assistant to the Attorney General in the Office of the Solicitor General; and in 1940 he became General Counsel of the Farm Credit Administration, and Deputy Governor of the Farm Credit Administration. He has been in right along.

He knows his stuff, and he will be an excellent representative on the S.E.C.; and -- and he may discover, on going to the S.E.C., that there is definitely a very under-cover -- that ought to make your ears prick up -- a very under-cover effort, in many parts of the country, to get rid of the S.E.C. and go back to that awful thing called "the good old days." I imagine they are all looking into it. The fact is that there are certain -- certain elements in the community in different places that have that definitely in mind; and I believe in 19 -- what? -- 20 and 21 they used to call it a return to that awful word "normalcy" -- get rid of the protection of what the Greeks used to call the "hoi polloi," an organization to which most of us belong --

not all of us.

Then there is one thing -- I wish somebody would say something about it -- I have been digging up some stuff on it because I have been very much interested in it, and that is what happens to land that is re-occupied.

I thought the best thing to do was to try to find out what has happened in North Africa. It has been under our occupation now for about eleven months, and what has happened there can, I think, be applied to most other lands that are re-occupied with us -- by us. The next thing will be the example of Sicily and southern Italy.

What happened in North Africa, as I saw last winter, was that they had been pretty nearly bled white. Nearly all of their wheat and their fruits during 1940, 41 and 42 had been seized and taken out of North Africa. There were no replacements of other materials from other sources. And the result was that it was a pretty sad North Africa that I saw when I got there. There wasn't enough to eat, and the production was increasingly going down-hill.

Well, as a result of everybody working in together, we have had really remarkable success. Number one, North Africa today is, with certain very minor exceptions such as peppermint tea, which they can't grow and which is their favorite -- favorite drink of the Moors -- off the record, I don't advise you to try it -- (laughter) -- but they can't grow peppermint tea -- however, they are -- they are taking care of practically all of their own food needs.

And in addition to that, they are growing enough to make a very substantial contribution to the food of all of our troops there, and a large number of British troops, which is another case of Lend-Lease in reverse.

Then -- Oh, I have got Steve to write out a mimeographed thing. You can look it over. It's pretty long, and a bit stuffy -- (laughing and looking in Mr. Early's direction) -- (laughter) -- and well, all kinds of figures in it.

We have sent them -- we had to send them flour, 80 thousand tons, and 65 hundred tons of wheat. Well, that's only a -- less than a shipload. 28 hundred tons of potatoes. 18 hundred pounds -- tons of dried beans and peas. A thousand tons of edible oil, and a few smaller amounts (of cheese, dried eggs, margarine, rice and vegetables). They were requested by General Eisenhower.

And they were needed for a lot of things, to obtain native labor sufficiently well-fed to work in the docks. We had some experiences where workers just -- just dropped of exhaustion when they came to work for us, because they were so ill-fed. Same thing on the roads and railroads. To minimize the danger of famine and food riots that would require assignment of troops in order to keep order. To prevent the spread of disease that might menace the health of our troops, and to feed the large army that was then being mobilized by the French authorities and has, since then, distinguished itself in Tunis and Sicily and Corsica. Those original supplies were made available under Lend-Lease, but in view of their present financial position, the French have repaid us in dollars for these supplies.

Meanwhile, the agricultural experts sent over a lot of seeds, and things like that, in order to expand local agricultural production. These shipments, of very small amounts of tonnage, were carefully budgeted. They consisted of seeds, and a very small amount of agricultural machinery and equipment, certain spare parts, fuel oil, binder twine, bags, and fertilizers and sprays. They were all requested by General Eisenhower.

Some of them began to get over there way back last -- early spring, and arrived in time for the harvest in June and July. The remainder of it, especially the seeds, will arrive in time for fall planting this year, for harvest next year.

They will produce many times their own weight in foodstuffs. The total tonnage of all of these is 15 thousand tons -- what? -- a ship and a half. Food imports into North Africa stopped entirely since last -- first of July. In other words, they are self-sustaining.

Many thousand tons of local fruits and vegetables and meats have been delivered to the British and American forces for local consumption, on a reverse Lend-Lease basis, and without payment. That means without our paying anything for them. In addition, the French are providing the Allied forces with 30 thousand tons of North African flour for use in the Italian campaign, thus avoiding our having to send the flour direct from here, saving three thousand miles of shipping. And agreements are now being negotiated to provide our forces with more than 60 thousand tons of fruit and vegetable produce. Supplies are being furnished in reverse Lend-Lease, in partial return for the munitions with which we are equipping the French army.

Beyond these immediate military objectives, the French authorities working with the Combined Food Board, have begun to accumulate food supplies for use during and after the coming liberation of France. I can't give you the exact date today. (laughter) The success of that program will greatly reduce the shipping and future needs of France itself for American food.

And in the coming year 1944, these harvests in North Africa, aided by mounting agricultural help and a year of peaceful cultivation, should greatly ease the strain on the United States. And incidentally, in saying that, I mean that we won't have to ship as many food products out of the United States as we would have otherwise. It works both ways.

Q. Mr. President, to get back to that S.E.C. matter, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) That what?

Q. The S.E.C. ---

MR. GODWIN: (interjecting) S.E.C.

Q. (continuing) --- appointment.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) That requires a nomination, does it not?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it went up ---

MR. EARLY: (interposing) Went up late this afternoon.

THE PRESIDENT: I signed it this morning.

Q. I see. Could you give us any more specific idea of the type of persons who are trying to get rid of the S.E.C.?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I said it was something to look into -- a tip. You will find it in the columns of certain papers in the last two or three months.

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, with respect to this food experience in North Africa, have you reached the point where you are having any kind of experience in Sicily or southern Italy that you could -- that you know about?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't officially. I can only tell you what I have heard from various people coming back from there.

Sicily was --was bled white by the Germans, we all know that; and under the Fascist policy of government, the actual acreage successfully cultivated had gone way, way down in the last ten or fifteen years, especially the last two or three years. I think, as I remember it, that five-eighths of the total food and drink production of all Sicily was taken out of Sicily, so that the average farmer could only retain three-eighths of what he produced. At this time there seems to be a pretty general feeling on the part of the farmers of Sicily that they will be able to retain a hundred percent of what they grow; but none of it will be taken -- taken away from them, and that what they do have in excess, that they will be able to sell, instead of being robbed of it.

MR. GODWIN: That sounds like "the good old days," Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, is General (Jan) Smuts (Premier of South Africa) coming to Washington?

THE PRESIDENT: I hope so. I haven't heard anything. I haven't heard anything -- Oh, what? -- for about a month.

Q. (interposing) Is it proper, sir, to say ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) He told me he would come if he could.

Q. Mr. President, have you any comment on the railroad wage situation, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know of any late development that hasn't been printed. I haven't heard anything on it for a couple of days.

Q. Mr. President, will you have a Labor conference later this week?

THE PRESIDENT: I think so. I had Food this morning.

Q. Mr. President, I understand the Argentine Ambassador (Don Felipe A. Espil) came in to see you this morning?

THE PRESIDENT: He came in to say good-bye. I was awfully sorry to see him go. Very old friend of mine.

Q. Anything you can say ---

MR. GODWIN: (interposing) Have you anything -- can you say anything about the situation in Argentina with respect to their ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I don't think anything more.

Q. Mr. President, do you wish you could get results that quick in this country?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Do you wish you could get results that quick in this country?

THE PRESIDENT: You bet I do. (laughter) A matter of a couple of hours.

Q. Mr. President, do you have anything to say about the Food conference you had today?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't think so. I think the thing is -- what will I say? -- we are, I hope, gradually eliminating a whole lot of smoke and a lot of details, and coming down to brass tacks.

The situation -- I am sending up a Message to Congress on it, I think tomorrow or the next day -- but the situation in a nutshell is that since July, since Marvin Jones came in, we have done on the whole a pretty good job, at comparatively low cost. The cost of living index is not as low as we hope it will be, but on the other hand it has come down somewhat.

The cost of food we hope can go a little bit further; and the other costs of living, like rent and the other things, are holding their own and going down a little. And therefore, when all the intricacies of food, and bills, are cleared away to the essentials, I personally hope that on the first proposition they will let the present methods -- system -- continue, relatively speaking, compared with the cost of war. It has been pretty successful. There is no reason why we should try some other scheme. This one is working. And it doesn't cost an awful lot, compared with the total cost of the war.

On the other point, now that -- that all relates -- put it the simplest way -- to the cost of food to the housewife, keeping it where it is, or perhaps a little bit lower. We have had three or four months of pretty successful operation. In other words, what I am thinking about in this first instance, is the cost to the housewife between now and next July. Now, by the time next year's crop comes in -- begins to come in, around the first of July, we are all substantially agreed on a program for a great increase in the crop in the total production.

I think it is rather interesting -- the total production of this country -- if you take the 1935 to 1939 period -- call that a hundred. Well, we thought we were doing pretty well in those years. And in 1942, in the calendar year, the total production rose to 125. It will probably surprise you when I say that in 1943 it will probably rise to 131, and not a good crop year. We either had drought, as in Oklahoma and that section, or we had floods like Illinois and certain parts of the East.

The principal reason for the total gain in foodstuffs is the tremendous gain in cattle. Many of the -- of the agricultural crops are off a bit, but they are more than offset in -- what shall I say? -- the calories -- isn't that the word that they use nowadays? -- in cattle, hogs, and so forth -- four-footed calories.

Well now, to end entirely -- people get foggy thinking, and come out and say, "No subsidies for anybody any more, beginning on the first of January." Those same people, some of them professional farmers, they have been getting subsidies ever since 1933, and even before that. We have given subsidies to agriculture for a great many years. Parity, and the effort to obtain it for the -- for agriculture, came along about 1933, and the Treasury has been spending many, many millions every year out of the Treasury and into the farmers' pockets. Of course that is a subsidy, subsidies which have always been demanded by the agricultural interests.

Then on the question of the gains of agriculture during the past year. In 1942, calendar year, the farmers of the country made about nine and a half billion dollars, and did a grand, cooperative job in raising all the extra food that they needed. They showed fine spirit. Give them all due credit. And this year, which isn't quite finished, we think they will earn about twelve and a half billion dollars, which for one year is not -- not bad at all. The average farmer is cooperating.

With the coming year, we have this new program for planting next spring, a bit of it like we are wheat-planting this autumn, of raising the total acreage planted by a much larger increase over 1943 than 1943 was over 1942.

In that we are being greatly helped by something that I hope we can double next year, and that is the victory gardens. Well, they raised ten million -- I think I am right -- this is pure memory -- somebody check me if I am wrong -- ten million tons of foodstuffs in the victory gardens. Well, that's an awful lot of foodstuffs. Put together we couldn't eat ten million tons if we tried in a year. And we hope this year that we will double that to twenty million tons.

Of course, there are a lot of people who put in victory gardens this year who got hit by the drought or hit by the rain. Next year they will be much better agriculturists in running their victory gardens than they were this year. I would advise you to try it. And so I am -- we are going to start a campaign to get everybody, even with just a backyard, to put in some seeds, at any rate to double that amount from ten million tons to twenty million.

Well, those are some of the things we talked about this morning.

I -- I told them a couple of stories -- to Ed O'Neal and Albert Goss. I told them that one of the two had been asked, I think it was in a House committee hearing -- they said, "Well now, don't you think, Mr. O'Neal, that a little inflation wouldn't be so bad?" And that Mr. O'Neal said, "Yes, I think a little inflation wouldn't hurt anybody."

So I told him the story about a friend of mine, who is a perfectly good citizen, quite strong-minded, had no vices.

Somebody went to him one day and said, "Did you ever try a little pill of cocaine?"

And he said, "No. I wouldn't touch cocaine, I might form a habit."

Well, this friend of his said, "Well, you know, it's the loveliest sensation in the world. It's perfectly grand. You just feel up in the skies. There isn't anything as wonderful as the sensation that cocaine gives you."

And he talked so enthusiastically that this fellow said, "All right, give me a pill." And then he took it, and he felt just grand, just what his friend had said.

He came back the next day, and said, "That was the most wonderful sensation I have ever had. Slip me another."

Well, within a week he was taking two, and at the end of a month he was a cocaine addict -- a drug addict.

And I said, "You know, this inflation business is a little bit like that, Ed. You get a little inflation -- you say you like a little inflation -- and then you will want twice the amount, and then you will get the inflation habit."

Well, that's a pretty unanswerable argument, philosophically and economically. We know what has happened to the countries that have, unnecessarily, taken a little pill, just one little pill of inflation.

Q. Well, Mr. President, some of the Congressmen think you could get a subsidy habit, too.

THE PRESIDENT: We have had it for ten years and we are still alive. It doesn't seem to have the effect of cocaine.

Q. Mr. President, could you give us a figure comparable with the nine billion and twelve billion farm -- what was the farm income a couple of years ago, do you have that -- of five years ago?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it was five or six. Six, I think. It has gone up, I should say, about three billion in the last five years, and another three billion in the past year.

Q. Mr. President, are the subsidies higher or lower now than they were five years ago?

THE PRESIDENT: I would say about the same, in our efforts to reach parity.

VOICES: Thank you, Mr. President.

MR. GODWIN: They've got a bookful there.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: They've got a bookful there.

THE PRESIDENT: Don't take cocaine, or inflation! (laughter)

(Notebook PC-XVI -- Page 1 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #924
Executive Office of the President
October 29, 1943 -- 11.02 A.M., E.W.T.

Q. Good morning.

Q. How are you feeling?

THE PRESIDENT: A little better, thanks. Takes a long time to get over that.

Q. It does.

MR. GODWIN: Is that for quotation?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I was lying on my "bed of pain," Earl, about four or five days ago. I had nothing else to do, so I turned on the radio. It happened to be one of those things -- I can't do it when I am all right -- I had nothing to do, and I turned on you. And O My God, I don't know what it was about, but it raised my temperature a whole degree, and I couldn't tell you why. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: That's the way it does all the ladies.

THE PRESIDENT: I have forgotten now what it was about.

MR. GODWIN: Were you mad, or just sick?

THE PRESIDENT: What? Both.

MR. EARLY: Willow Run, wasn't it?

MR. GODWIN: What?

MR. EARLY: Willow Run, wasn't it?

MR. GODWIN: It may have been Willow Run. It wasn't me.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you remember years ago we went out there, and I put out my hand expecting to shake hands with old man Ford, and there was Earl! (laughter) We will have you running that plant yet.

MR. GODWIN: I never hear from him, except when they want to stir up some high moral issue. (Mr. Godwin is radio commentator for the Ford Motor Company)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Who is this kid ---

MR. DONALDSON: (interposing) All in.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- Henry Third? Nice fellow.

MR. GODWIN: Nice fellow.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Oh, I have got a number of things.

Steve will have for you a story for release at -- at Noon, not to be released before then.

(reading): "Simultaneously with the announcement by the President and the Prime Minister of a re-arrangement of the Combined Food Board whereby Claude R. Wickard, Secretary of Agriculture, has been named neutral chairman, and Canada has been invited to appoint a member, the President signed an Executive Order strengthening the War Food Administration by designating the War Food Administrator, Marvin Jones, chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee and United States Member of the Combined Food Board. The War Food Administrator and the Secretary of Agriculture will continue as members of the War Production Board.

"This represents an important step in the simplification of the food allocations process. And under the terms of the Order, the Food Advisory Committee and the Interagency Committee are abolished, and the War Food Administrator has created by administrative order a Food Requirements and Allocations Committee to pass on all domestic and foreign claims for food from United States sources.

"A strong food requirements and allocations mechanism in the War Food Administration will expedite food allocations. Under this arrangement the food requirements branch of the War Food Administration will present United States domestic claims for food and the newly created Office of Foreign Economic Administration will act as the claimant agency for food for foreign account. In this way, the machinery of food allocations will be similar to the Requirements Committee of the War Production Board that makes allocations on the industrial side. The Food Requirements and Allocations Committee should prove to be a time-saver, in that there will be but one such committee on which claimants for food are represented. It will in this way simplify inter-agency relationships.

"Having the War Food Administrator as the United States Member of the Combined Food Board will facilitate the work of that Board in dealing with international food problems. Inasmuch as his deputy has been named chairman of the Food Requirements and Allocations Committee, the War Food Administrator will be in a position to state the American point of view on the Combined Food Board, and any possibility of conflicting American points of view in food allocation matters will be eliminated."

And then the text of the Executive Order.

It all is working toward -- toward simplification, and Canada has been invited by the United States for the U.K. to become a full member of the Combined Food Board. It was set up, this Combined Board, in June 1942, in order to coordinate further in prosecuting the war effort, and so forth. I don't know that I need that ---

MR. EARLY: (interposing) They have that, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: That I think you will get. It's all -- all part and parcel, first, of the simplification process; and I hope that people also will keep it in mind in relationship to the whole problem of food in this country, and throughout the world. You want to get rid of some mis -- I don't want to say misunderstandings, but some lack of knowledge on the part of the general product of food throughout the world. I thought I could give you a -- an illustration.

First of all, I think I will send up the Food Message on Monday to Congress. It's practically finished. And in connection with that Food Message there will be a good many figures. It's a tough thing to write about; but I think I will make it perfectly clear that on the whole, the -- on the domestic side of things, the actual cost of food -- well, you can't -- you can't go behind statistics an awful lot -- we all know that the cost of food in the last three months has gone up practically not at all, or very little -- a very tiny percentage.

And that committee -- the method that has been used since last July is a stabilization method. It has cost the country very, very little in actual cash, and it seems to be working pretty well toward the idea of stabilization.

At the same time, it all ties in with the general foreign picture, the winning of the war picture, things like, for instance, Lend-Lease. And I think I will bring out one fact -- I don't know why it should not be talked about now, because you will have plenty to write about out of the Message as a whole -- just an interesting little item.

It's a thing called reverse Lend-Lease. And we have been receiving from Australia enough beef and veal, practically, to feed all of our troops that are based on Australia. We are getting it through the Lend-Lease process, the reverse Lend-Lease process.

And the total amount of that beef and veal that we are receiving in reverse Lend-Lease is the same amount, roughly, that we are sending out of the United States -- beef and veal -- to the European theatre. It just about washes out. In other words, we are getting -- getting for our use as much as we are sending out for other people's use. Now that is an amazing statement. That is a real headline. (laughter) In the long run that is something -- something that the country doesn't know.

Of course, the Americans in the Southwest Pacific area are eating an awful lot. (laughter) Instead of shipping it out of here -- American beef and veal -- a tremendously long voyage -- we are feeding them in the Southwest area from Australia and New Zealand, and thereby saving an enormous amount on shipping, and getting this all from Australia and New Zealand on the reverse Lend-Lease basis. I think that -- I didn't know it until this morning. I grabbed hold of it and said that's the thing that would be overlooked in the general Message on Monday, and we might as well break it now.

Q. I understand, Mr. President, that that equals the total amount of meat that is shipped to the European theatre, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- including our Army? Does that include our Army?

THE PRESIDENT: No. You see, our Army isn't fed by Lend-Lease over there. These are things that go to other people.

Q. Does that equal all meat for their use? Is it just the beef and veal?

THE PRESIDENT: I was talking about beef and veal. I don't know about the others. That's a tremendously major item in feeding the Army.

MR. GODWIN: May I ask a question, sir? Farm people have been here lately -- have various ideas about the food thing. One thing which seems to stick in their minds is that the food program, which is going forward, is lacking in farm machinery and material for farm machinery. I get the impression that they think it's lagging; and if I am not wrong ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) In a sense you are right.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- Mr. (Ed) O'Neal (of the American Farm Bureau), I understand, took it up with you.

THE PRESIDENT: In a sense there is some truth in it. As you know, the allocations for farm machinery that were made back last -- you know, way back -- May and June ---

MR. GODWIN: (interjecting) Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- and some of them earlier than that, were -- those allocations were very greatly increased -- of steel. And the companies that made farm machinery, who still had the machines to do it, were asked to make farm machinery up to the full point. Well, during the past three months we have had quite a struggle with some of the people who were making farm machinery in the old days, because they didn't want to go back to farm machinery. I guess they could make more money out of munitions. And we have had a bit of opposition from some companies -- not all by any means -- in reverting to the making of farm machinery. It was perhaps a better thing from their point of view to make parts for old machinery for other purposes.

MR. GODWIN: But you insist on ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) On farm machinery.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- on carrying out the program?

THE PRESIDENT: Absolutely. Absolutely. And we have been pushing them and pushing them to carry out their -- their part of the -- use of the steel and iron that has been turned over to them. They can get it. It is there.

And the only other thing I have got is -- I just want to say a word about this Moscow conference, and the fact that while documents and things like that are not ready for issue, the net result of the conference has been a tremendous success, not only from what has been accomplished in the way of definite items of agreement, but also in -- in the spirit of it.

There are many people who felt when this thing started -- there were a great many cynics who said, "Oh, they will all agree to disagree," and, "There will be a lot of suspicion and won't get anywhere." But the spirit of the whole conference has been amazingly good. I think Mr. Hull deserves a great deal of credit for that spirit, and I think the Russians and the British deserve equal credit. It has been a -- what we called in the old days in the Navy -- it has been a "happy ship." They have talked things out quietly. And the relationships between them individually have been about a hundred percent.

And just as soon as the documents are signed and they start to come back, the whole thing will be of course given out, probably from that end.

Q. Sir, do you think it brings near the -- nearer the possibility of the meeting between you and the Prime

Minister and Mr. Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: That I -- I still don't know any more than I did two weeks ago.

Q. Mr. President, you mentioned documents being signed. Can you tell us any more about the general nature of those documents?

THE PRESIDENT: I think I had better not, because I don't want to -- I don't want to cross wires and state any -- any generality here. It's better to get the whole thing from the other side. But it is all -- all working, of course, toward the -- toward the objective, which is a unanimity in not merely the progress of the war but in the transition period, looking toward a friendly agreement as to what can be done on many practical things, not necessarily all of them.

We can't -- well, somebody came in the other day and demanded that I -- you know who it was, some of you -- to cross all the "Ts" and dot all the "Is" in regard to all sorts of things. "What are you going to do about such and such a matter? What are you going to do about such and such a five-square kilometer area in the world?" Well, that -- I call that a crossing of "Ts" and dotting -- dotting of "Is".

This conference has been engaged in considering the big things -- the objectives.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, in a good many quarters of late, there has been expressed the feeling that in view of the developments some sort of re-definition or re-statement in more explicit terms of this country's foreign policy as a whole might be in order, particularly with reference to what those objectives at Moscow might be. I know that's a large order, but is there anything that could be said at this conference about it?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, referring rather more in particular to the Senate debate, you get that sort of stuff ---

Q. (interjecting) Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- well, I suppose the easiest way to answer it is this, that when we went to this conference all three nations had a thing called an agenda, and in that agenda were many matters of general policy.

Well, if at this particular time, when our delegation went over there, that Mr. Hull had been bound not merely to the general policy but certain more specific things, and the British had been bound to theirs, and the Russians had been bound to theirs, what would have been the use of a conference? You learn a lot in a conference, both sides.

The ultimate objectives, we all know pretty well what they are. The first desideratum is peace in the world and the end of aggression. That is far and away the most important thing.

But the idea of a conference is to confer, get the other fellow's point of view. It is quite possible that you might get a good idea from somebody else outside of our own borders. It is quite possible that you might persuade the other fellow that some idea that you had was a pretty good idea. I think we have all lost sight of the fact that the main practical point at the present time is to sit around the table and see if we can't agree, and swap various kinds of -- of language.

Now, in -- in conferences, domestic or foreign, you draw up a document. Well, it's done by some draftsman, and they agree that it is pretty darn good language, and you get a general agreement on the language. And then you bring it into the whole conference, before all the conferees.

And somebody says, "Don't you think it would be better to put it this way, in the light of all the circumstances?"

And the others say, "Well, that's a good idea. Let's change those few words, here or there."

Or they say, "No. No, I don't think that is so good. Let's try a third method."

And finally you get a document which has been gone over with a good deal of care and agreement. You can't just go in and say didactically, "Take this language. We won't consider any other language."

Now, I think -- I think the Senate, in talking about it, will come out by using some fairly general language, which if they become too specific in it might have to be changed when the time came. We haven't -- the Senate hasn't had the other fellow's point of view.

So I am very much in favor of a Senate Resolution which will point out to the country in general terms that after this war, in order to avoid future wars in the world, that this country will cooperate with other nations toward that end. That would be something. It would be a very fine thing.

Q. Mr. President, does the committee Resolution meet that specification?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Does the committee Resolution -- Resolution reported from the Foreign Relations Committee ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) That's the whole trouble. Now you put -- you put your finger right on it. How could I answer that question? You couldn't. I couldn't answer it. Now you are getting down to specific language. You and I could sit down, if we were the dictators of the world, and work out some language that you and I thought was one hundred percent. And then Earl Godwin would come in and give us something that was better.

MR. GODWIN: Earl Godwin thinks that it does. (laughter) Now, if it's just a matter of words, it's sort of silly to take up time ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Well, I think the Senate has every right to talk about it just as long as they want.

MR. GODWIN: Exactly, sir, we shouldn't say anything else. But suppose the Senate had adopted the Resolution, which it may at any moment, and you may be over in Europe, will the United States or will the President of the United States feel bound by this kind of Resolution?

THE PRESIDENT: By the -- well, that's -- that's a difficult thing to say. I might not like it.

MR. GODWIN: Pardon me?

THE PRESIDENT: I might not like it.

MR. GODWIN: Well, it's an expression of the Senate. It isn't the ratification of anything.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, if the general sentiment is all right ---

MR. GODWIN: (interjecting) Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- that's fine. I have told you what the general sentiment I think ought to be.

MR. GODWIN: (interjecting) Yes, sir.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) This country wants to stop a war.

MR. GODWIN: Yes.

MAY CRAIG: Mr. President, there is some feeling in the Senate that passage of this kind of Resolution would relieve you of the necessity of coming back for ratification.

THE PRESIDENT: Oh. I haven't heard that. That's a new one, May. That's a new one.

Q. Mr. President, on the subject of the Moscow conference, did I understand you correctly that there have been agreements reached, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

Q. (continuing) --- and all that remains now is for the documents to be signed?

THE PRESIDENT: Essentially, that's right.

Q. Mr. President, in the recent three-power statement on co-belligerency, it appeared that the three powers acted in behalf of all the United Nations. Is there a policy that Great Britain, Russia and the United States will make spot political decisions in behalf of all the United Nations?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't put it as broadly as that. There are certain things where the four large nations in the military field won't have time to consult with the -- what is it? -- 32 United Nations, primarily because it's -- it's a military thing, ---

Q. (interjecting) Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- but anything where we have time to turn around on an ultimate objective, certainly the other -- the other United Nations join in on the whole future picture.

Q. Mr. President, anything you can tell us about the coal situation -- your plans?

THE PRESIDENT: I thought you would ask about that. It's on the top of my basket. (indicating) I got it last night.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Nothing has been done yet.

Q. (continuing) --- the statement that the conference has been a tremendous success would seem to imply that you are now confident of Russia's willingness to cooperate with us in maintaining peace?

THE PRESIDENT: I wouldn't put it that way. I always have been, personally. This confirms my belief.

Q. It has been confirmed -- strengthened?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes.

Q. Mr. President, getting back to the coal situation for just a second, do you anticipate that it will be necessary to take over the mines again?

THE PRESIDENT: I would rather not say anything about it now, because I only got it late last night.

Q. Mr. President, about the discussions in the Senate, do you believe it is possible for the Resolution to be too general? At present, some of the Senators contend that it is being supported by Isolationists, as well as those who wish to cooperate with other nations.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I haven't seen the final thing. I don't know yet.

Q. Mr. President, on the general question of foreign policy, there have been a great many rumors floating around on our attitude toward the Greek government and King George. One of those rumors has been that you sent a communication to the Greek King in the last couple of months bearing on his policy toward the Greek government and your policy toward him. Is there any basis in that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, Yes and No. I sent him a perfectly polite -- this is off the record -- State Department form of telegram.

Q. Well, I believe we knew ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I don't think there's any news in it.

Q. There's nothing beyond that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Mr. President, what can you tell us about freezing Argentine credits?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know anything about it.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (adding) You would have to ask the State Department on a thing like that.

Q. Ask the State Department?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

Q. Can you say, sir, whether there has been any decision regarding President Quezon and November 15, when he is ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Not yet. Probably -- the thing is under discussion at the present time, and there will probably be something turn up, I don't know where from, ---

VOICE: (interposing) Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- pretty soon.

MORE VOICES: Thank you, Mr. President.

MR. GODWIN: Was I saying something about Harry Hopkins leaving the White House? Did that make you mad?

THE PRESIDENT: No, it wasn't that. It was something else. It's all right.

(laughter)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #925
Executive Office of the President
November 5, 1943 -- 11.05 A.M., E.W.T.

MR. GODWIN: (passing May Craig on his way to his seat) This girl can sit on my lap.

THE PRESIDENT: May, I hear you are a very good presiding officer.

MAY CRAIG: Grace (Tully) tell you?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MAY CRAIG: Grace tell you?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: There has been -- I think -- there isn't very much spot news -- there has been a conference in Chungking. I see no reason why it shouldn't be announced now. General (Joseph W.) Stilwell, General (Claire) Chennault, and Admiral (Lord Louis) Mountbatten, and General (Brehon) Somervell, they have been conferring with the Generalissimo (Chiang Kai-shek) and the Chinese military.

And it was an extremely successful conference. Of course, it was mostly operational, and there was complete agreement on the joint operations -- three-sided. General Somervell is already back home here. And -- well, without going into military details I can't tell you more than that, except that there is complete agreement between the Chinese and the British and ourselves in respect to the method of handling the -- the continental campaign in the Far East.

Q. Is that bad news for the Japs, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Is that bad news for the Japs, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. Yes. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Were you through with that, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: Were you through with that, sir? The fact that General Somervell was there would also lead to the inquiry that they took up the question of supply, that was it?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, largely.

MR. GODWIN: Covered by that, entirely?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MR. GODWIN: May I go on, sir, to the Moscow -- the Moscow conference which seems to have been very productive? A question arises on that, can that be final? We can always expect, then, that possibly you and the Prime Minister and Marshal Stalin would next get together? Does that ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) Well, I have -- put it this way, for background. On the -- on -- the conference has been, as we said the other day, a great success, has worked out certain general principles. And it undoubtedly will lead to other meetings of both of these commissions which have been announced, the Mediterranean commission and the other commission which is to meet in London. Then, in addition to that of course, there will be, undoubtedly, a good deal of closer work on the details of things. Well, that means --

that means military operations and service of supply. There will be better coordination. And there will undoubtedly be other meetings.

Now, I haven't got anything further -- literally true -- I have nothing further on a meeting with Mr. Churchill and Mr. -- Marshal Stalin, at this time. Of course, it's always an awfully good thing if you know the other fellow personally, and I am still anxious to meet and know Marshal Stalin.

MR. GODWIN: Is that the -- may we say that?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I think so. But there isn't any -- any further news than that: the mere fact of knowing the other fellow.

Q. Mr. Hull be home soon -- pretty soon?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Mr. Hull be home pretty soon?

THE PRESIDENT: I hope so.

Q. Mr. President, on that meeting in China, was that in terms of strategy as well as supplies?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh Yes. The whole thing.

Q. Mr. President, did the Moscow conference make any change in the status of General Marshall?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh No. Oh No.

Q. Mr. President, did the Moscow conference in any of the recent negotiations result in any developments with regard to Jewish victims of atrocity or persecutions abroad?

THE PRESIDENT: In regard to what?

Q. To Jewish victims of atrocities or persecution?

THE PRESIDENT: That I don't know. I won't be able to tell you that until I see Mr. Hull, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- because that is, as you know, that whole problem is -- the heart's all right -- it's a question of ways and means. Just in the same way it's almost a parallel with the question of the starving peoples of occupied countries. The heart's all right. It becomes a question of ways and means of how to get food to them.

Q. Mr. President, since we were talking about the Moscow conference, I have a rather long-winded leaflet on an important aspect of it, which possibly you could read to better effect than I, if you don't mind doing so? (handing him a small sheet of paper)

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

(reading): "Senate debate on the post-war policy Resolution has indicated suspicion in some quarters that the Moscow Declaration has by-passed the requirement for Senate ratification of the treaty or treaties affecting American participation in the proposed general international organization to maintain peace and security, or to carry out other phases of that Declaration which ordinarily might require advice and consent of the upper house. Could you clarify Administration intentions in this respect?"

I think the answer is that the Constitution still lives. (many exclamations of agreement)

MR. GODWIN: Yes! Good!

Q. Thank you.

Q. Yes, sir!

MAY CRAIG: Well, Mr. President, how do you get the advice of the Senate?

THE PRESIDENT: By asking for it. (laughter)

MAY CRAIG: In what way? Individuals? Or are you doing that now?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh Yes. That goes on every day in the year.

Q. Mr. President, did the inclusion of clause four of the main Moscow agreement in the Connally Resolution seem like a good idea to you?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That's all right. Grand.

Q. Mr. President, there has been a good deal of speculation editorially, as to why Austria was singled out for the Declaration in the Moscow -- in the Moscow announcements?

THE PRESIDENT: That I will have to wait until Mr. Hull gets back. I couldn't tell you, off-hand. I have got a suspicion that we had better wait and get that from him.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, there have been reports that Donald Nelson is going to head a new United Nations production organization. Have you heard anything on that?

THE PRESIDENT: No. That's a new one.

Q. Mr. President, is Mr. Hull going to sit with Mr. Eden in Cairo to meet Mr. (Numan) Menemencioglu, the Turkish Foreign Minister?

THE PRESIDENT: Going to meet with whom?

Q. Mr. Menemencioglu, the Turkish Foreign Minister, and Mr. Eden -- meet with him in Cairo?

THE PRESIDENT: That I don't know.

And the only other thing I have got is -----. Well, I can say this, that the -- that the naval battle in the Southwest Pacific was extremely successful, and carries out the same old idea of whittling away the Japanese forces.

We are on shore in Bougainville, and while in a sense it's the stepping-stone method, we have to remember -- which we are against as a general policy -- there is a very strong Japanese point down there called Rabaul, and if and when we have full occupation of Bougainville we will be within a very short distance of Rabaul, making the use of it by the Japanese forces a much more dangerous operation.

For the last year -- for more than a year, Rabaul has been their principal support point for all of their operations in the Southwest Pacific, that is to say on the east side of New Guinea. And the progress we are making there is not only aimed at making their use of Rabaul a very difficult thing, but also it's a part of thewhittling away or attrition process. A Japanese cruiser and three or four destroyers (sunk November second 40 miles west of Bougainville) is another distinct step in that direction; also, the continuation of getting a lot of Japanese planes. That part of it is going all right.

The only other thing I have got is the appointment of a tripartite committee of the National War Labor Board to make an investigation into the cost of living, and to report the results of its investigation within sixty days.

The people appointed are Mr. (Wm.) Davis, the Chairman, representing the public; Mr. (George) Meany of -- Secretary-Treasurer of the (American) Federation of Labor; Mr. (R. G.) Thomas, the President of the United Automobile Workers, representing labor -- those two; Mr. Horton, Treasurer of the Chicago Bridge and Iron Company; and Mr. George K. Batt, the Vice President of Dugan Brothers, representing the employers.

The -- I think it was felt by the National War Labor Board, and by a great many other people, that people are a lot apt to be quite foggy in their minds as to the -- the cost of living. A great many people -- people think of the cost of living only in terms of food. The cost of food, of course, varies in a great many different communities and different regions. That is almost inevitable in a country of this size. There are other elements, such as the cost of rent, and clothing, and recreation, and so forth and so on, all of which enter into the figures of the cost of living.

And it is hoped that this committee, making a quick survey, will be able to clarify for the public some of these questions as to what the cost of living means. They will report inside of sixty days.

Q. Mr. President, will that ---

MR. GODWIN: (simultaneously) Did you ask ---

Q. (continuing) --- excuse me -- go into the validity of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' index of the cost of living?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, only incidentally. There has been one committee that says that the index, as -- as worked out at the present time, is very good. That committee has already reported. But this is a checkup by labor and employers and government on the whole thing, ---

Q. (interjecting) Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- all the different elements.

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Including ---

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- you spoke on the item of food sometime before, about that thing.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) Well, there -- as you well know, there are families in -- in whose budget food and clothing and children's shoes make up practically the cost of living, outside of, so far as they know ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) How about rent?

MR. GODWIN: Rent. Outside of rent.

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) And it occurred -- it occurred to me that possibly these people might depart from the over-all drafts, and economists' figures, and go into the family budget on that matter, which -- which -- I am making a speech, if you will forgive me, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes, yes.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- which of course is the topic of conversation by millions of people ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Of course it is.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- on the subject of the cost of living.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right. That's right. But of course, cost of living means the over-all total family budget ---

MR. GODWIN: (interjecting) It certainly does.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- and all those things with the family budget. A man who raises a garden -- a war garden -- if he has got a really good one, he saves an awful lot of cash outgo.

MR. GODWIN: (aside) If he has it.

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) He works in the afternoon, or early in the morning before he goes to work. There are hardly any two families that have exactly the same problem, obviously.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us the first name of Mr. Horton on that committee, please, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: H. B. -- Treasurer, Chicago Bridge and Iron.

Q. (loudly) Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. (interposing) No. Wait a minute, please. Mr. President, just one question I want to ask before we leave. Have you any comment that you would like to make on the elections of last Tuesday?

THE PRESIDENT: I suppose the only comment is that I have been very much interested in the returns (and here the President paused a second) from Italy, and the Southwest Pacific, and the China theatre. Thank you. (loud laughter)

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: That ought to hold him!

(much laughter)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #926
Executive Office of the President
November 9, 1943 -- 4.10 P.M., E.W.T.

THE PRESIDENT: (to Mr. Godwin) What's that?

MR. GODWIN: I can't read Arabic.

THE PRESIDENT: That's the Reader's Digest. (printed in Arabic)

MR. GODWIN: I know it.

THE PRESIDENT: Haven't you ever seen one before?

MR. GODWIN: I have read about it, but never saw one.

THE PRESIDENT: I'll tell you an interesting thing. It isn't allowed in Tunis. I don't know whether that's true about Algiers or not. I only know about Tunis. Arabs are not allowed to have it in Tunis.

MR. GODWIN: Is that really so? Is that a gag?

THE PRESIDENT: Not a gag at all. (Hooker A.) Doolittle (Consul General for Tunisia) told me that this morning. Check on it -- a good story out of it. Might educate the Moors. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: I see.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have got a number of rather small things this morning.

There is a -- on Thursday morning we will get over here, about six o'clock in the morning, a British white paper to be released at that time. And I am sending to Congress, at Noon that same day, not an identical but a Message on a similar subject which is Lend-Lease, especially in regard to raw materials and reverse Lend-Lease. I think the facts in both my Message and the white paper will check, but they are independently written.

Then, I am going out to Arlington on Thursday morning (Armistice Day) as usual, at 11 o'clock.

I want to say a word in regard to today's meeting in the -- in the East Room, for those of you who were not there. (the signing of an agreement by the forty-four United Nations and their associates, creating the United Nations' Relief and Rehabilitation Administration)

I think it was a thing which can't be too much exaggerated. I think it was of very, very great importance, because it is the first -- what? -- a plenary meeting that all the United Nations and associated nations participated in, the Food Conference last autumn having been in a sense a preliminary meeting. But this was set up as a permanent organization on relief and rehabilitation.

Of course, the principal emphasis will be on relief, and the only problem is how far -- what the scope of the word rehabilitation means, if it means sending seeds over there for growing crops next year or the year after, or if it means sending agricultural implements to nations that haven't got any left. It means sending cows over to start a new -- start new herds. That is what I think of as rehabilitation. I don't think the word rehabilitation includes all kinds of things that would bring the -- those nations back to immediate full economic -- to a full economic level. Of course they are all, we believe, working very hard to bring themselves back to that basis. In other words, the word rehabilitation should probably be treated in the narrower sense, and the word relief in the wider sense. It is very hard to define rehabilitation.

These -- this -- this group will meet tomorrow afternoon, and I think the first emphasis should be placed on the fact that relief should not -- would not come from any one country, that it should come from every one of the United and associated nations in accordance with their ability to provide relief. That is the spirit in which it is opening.

Of course, these delegates in almost all cases haven't got a definite right to bind their own countries. In practically every nation that has a legislative form of government they would have to go to the legislatures, as I would have to go to Congress to get the authority to carry out the recommendations made by this particular group. In other words, as I -- as I remarked the other day, I think the Constitution still lives. However, it is an awfully good start.

I felt like saying in the speech this morning that I had -- when I -- when I said the way for nations to work together is by practicing working together, "the way to resume is to resume," taking a former example of our own history. So they have got off to a good start.

And somebody remarked, I don't believe there ever has been an international gathering where forty-four nations have come together in time of war any -- anything like that number of nations in time of war, to assure the kind of peace where there will be less suffering in the world, and a greater desire to remove the causes of war. In other words, working toward a -- putting it an understatement -- a longer period of world peace than the world has ever yet enjoyed.

This I will have to tell you off the record until seven-thirty tonight. The joint Anglo-American statement in regard to submarines and anti-submarine operations in October will be released at seven-thirty tonight. It was drawn up here in the Bureau of Public Relations of the Navy Department. And the principal result for October was that it was very close to the lowest month on losses that we have had. August was slightly less but only very, very little. During August and September and October we definitely got about 60 U-boats.

Q. 60?

THE PRESIDENT: About 60, in those three months. Those are certain kills. There are a large number of others that were damaged, or where there was a probability of their being sunk. That brings to more than 150 (the number of) submarines that have been destroyed in the last six months. These past three months have been particularly gratifying because there were fewer U-boats operating, presenting fewer targets for the air and sea forces. And during these three months, August, September and October, there were more U-boats destroyed than Allied merchant ships sunk by submarines.

The ratio of U-boat to the merchant ship attrition is -- especially in October, was more satisfactory than any previous month. The tonnage losses on our side from all causes in October were the second lowest of any month of the war.

They make the point, (reading): "The Germans have introduced new U-boat weapons and tactics, and thus far we have been able to cope successfully with the changing situation." And the general situation is getting along pretty well.

The only other thing I have, I asked Jimmy Byrnes to let me have a memorandum of what happened this morning when he had that meeting with Mr. Baruch and his committee.

He says the Baruch unit in the Office of War Mobilization, to deal with -- with war and post-war adjustment problems, held its first meeting this morning in Justice Byrnes's conference room. At the meeting this morning there was general agreement to proceed immediately with a definite unified policy for the orderly termination of war contracts made necessary by the adjustment of procurement programs to the changing conditions of war. This morning the discussion was confined to those agencies which have contracts, and to questions of procedure that they have been following. This unit of the Office of War Mobilization will explore the problem to -- thoroughly with industry, labor, and Government agencies, to take advantage of the work of Congressional committees, and that will leave the administration of policies, including the termination of contracts, to the various agencies concerned. Of course that's all I have got on it.

MR. P. BRANDT: Mr. President, could you tell us who make up that unit, besides Mr. Baruch and Mr. Byrnes?

THE PRESIDENT: That I couldn't tell you, Pete.

MR. P. BRANDT: Do you know how large a group it is?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know.

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, may I ask you ---

MR. EARLY: (interjecting) It is just being organized.

THE PRESIDENT: What? Just being organized today.

MR. P. BRANDT: That's what I have been wondering.

MR. GODWIN: In -- with relation to your speech to the group here today, you have forty-four nations. Each nation has a variegated stock of supplies and drygoods, and seeds and things. I presume there will be an organization -- a clearing house so that they can allocate what ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) That's what the committee is. It's a clearing house, Yes.

MR. GODWIN: That's what the committee is for. Is that established now?

THE PRESIDENT: They start tomorrow.

MR. GODWIN: They start tomorrow.

THE PRESIDENT: Atlantic City. And the first thing they do tomorrow is to elect a Director, and then I suppose various committees, such as the committee on acquisition of relief supplies, and another one is distribution, and so forth and so on.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about your meeting with Marshal Stalin? Is it any nearer?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Haven't heard a word.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) By that, Mr. President, we mean the meeting is not any nearer?

THE PRESIDENT: Now -- it just means I mean the information is no nearer because I haven't heard.

Q. Mr. President, do you think that any change should be made in the Little Steel formula?

THE PRESIDENT: In what?

Q. In the Little Steel formula for controlling wages?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, you know, the first thing that we are trying to do, obviously, is to find out to greater satisfaction of people what the -- what the cost of living, including the cost of food, really is. And that is why this committee has started in the War Labor Board -- just appointed this week -- and other agencies will be helping on that to establish what it is.

We all have different ideas, depending somewhat on our wives, our stomachs, and our places of abode. Those are very important factors in making up one's opinion: wives, stomachs, and places of abode. (laughter)

MAY CRAIG: The wives first.

THE PRESIDENT: And as May said, wives first. (more laughter)

Q. Mr. President, does that mean that if this W.L.B. committee comes to the conclusion that the cost of living has increased to a greater extent than the ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) It's an "iffy" question. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Well, the War Labor Board definitely bases the Little Steel formula on the cost of living, isn't that ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) On the Lubin report. We have been using the Lubin report.

MR. GODWIN: The Lubin report. Then the committee is going to -- going to inquire into the -- into that report as well as the ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) Yes.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) --- the facts, isn't that it?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, yes.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

(much laughter)

(Notebook PC-XVI -- Page 56 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #927
Executive Office of the President
(Friday) December 17, 1943 -- 4.17 P.M., E.W.T.

(this is the first press conference held by the President upon his return from the Cairo and Teheran conferences with Prime Minister Churchill, Marshal Josef Stalin and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. He returned to the White House this morning at 9.25 a.m.)

MR. GODWIN: Welcome!

THE PRESIDENT: Well, how's the boy?

MR. GODWIN: Glad to see you.

(a long pause here, as newspapermen continued to come in. The President read material before him)

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I have been collecting a number of things this morning for you -- nothing very important.

And before that, I want to say in connection with the trip that I think it was in every way a success, not only from the point of view of the conduct of the war, but also for the discussions that I hope will have definite and very beneficial effects for the post-war period, based on the general thought that we -- when we win the war we don't want to have another one as long as this generation is alive.

The only sad note was the news I got, on the way home, of Mac's (Marvin H. McIntyre) death, because I think all you older people realize what that means to me, as he and I were -- had been together practically since my -- the earliest days in the Navy Department, back as far as 1913.

I think we will all miss him very much.

I know I will.

As soon as I got here this morning, I talked with the legislative leaders in regard to possibly going up to tell the Congress about the trip, but there's quite an accumulation of things, and I -- I don't want to make carefully prepared addresses in too large numbers.

I am speaking on Christmas Eve in the afternoon, primarily, I think, to the officers and men of the armed forces all over the world -- Steve has been working on the schedule -- which is to be heard at reasonable hours in most of the places where we have troops, or ships. And he has got a schedule which he will have mimeographed for you afterwards.

I thought I would speak from Hyde Park at 3.00 p.m., and that works out pretty well. It means 2.00 p.m. in the Canal Zone -- No, wait a minute. Steve, this is wrong. How can it be 9.00 a.m. in Alaska?

MR. EARLY: What time, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: 9.00 a.m. This isn't right.

MR. EARLY: Did you read here -- the top line?

THE PRESIDENT: What? No. They have been reading the chart backwards. (laughter) I will have to have it corrected. It does mean, though, that in the Southwest Pacific and China it will come Christmas morning, because the afternoon of the 23rd is Christmas morning out there.

Q. The 24th.

Q. The 24th.

MR. GODWIN: Wouldn't it be the 24th?

THE PRESIDENT: That comes first -- the day starts out there.

MR. GODWIN: The afternoon of the 23rd would be Christmas morning in China?

THE PRESIDENT: Wouldn't it? Yes.

MR. EARLY: That's what it says there.

MR. GODWIN: 24th.

THE PRESIDENT: I mean the 24th -- Christmas morning.

MR. GODWIN: Yes.

(much laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: And it gets to Cairo at nine o'clock in the evening, and gets to -- it won't here -- Persia -- Iran at 10.30 in the evening. And then the broadcasting companies are going to rebroadcast it at 10.00 o'clock on the evening of the 24th, so that it reaches other places that are not taken in by the first.

(then to Mr. Early) You work it out. I am sure the Aleutian Islands are wrong.

MR. EARLY: Prepared by the Navy, sir! (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: I can't help it! (more laughter)

Anyhow, I will be up at Hyde Park for Christmas.

Here is a thing that Steve has mimeographed for you.

(reading): "It is with particular pride and pleasure that I have today signed the bill repealing the Chinese Exclusion Laws. The Chinese people, I am sure, will take pleasure in knowing that this represents a manifestation on the part of the American people of their affection and regard.

"An unfortunate barrier between Allies has been removed, and the war effort in the Far East can now be carried on with a greater vigor and a larger understanding of our common purpose."

Then I wrote, and okayed, a memorandum that Bill McReynolds (Administrative Assistant) wanted to send out, in regard to the observance of holidays -- festival days.

Last March -- last May, in order to get greater production, we made it the Government policy to have all Government agencies keep on going every day in the year, except Christmas. Last November, Thanksgiving Day, there were -- I suppose because I was -- had my back turned, overseas -- a number of Government agencies let people off that they thought they could spare. Well, of course, if that should spread, it would be a very bad thing. This is merely a reminder to the Government agencies that the only day in the year is Christmas Day, and where their services can be spared, two hours shopping the day before, and that's all. It's just a gentle reminder to live up to the rule.

I signed today a bill that commemorates the 40th anniversary of the first airplane flight by Wilbur and Orville Wright. Actually, it happens tonight, but I did get under the wire. They are having a banquet tonight for -- to honor Mr. Orville Wright. I had hoped to go, but -- expected to be here last week -- but I got home so late that I can't make the banquet. It's a very excellent anniversary.

Then, the Congress also passed a bill designating the week of December 12 to 18 as Bill of Rights Week. They asked me to issue a Proclamation, but the Congress didn't get it down even to the White House until the 15th -- (laughter) -- so it has been duly signed, but it's rather late -- this week -- for a Proclamation. However, the spirit is there, even though the signature is not. (laughter)

I don't think there's anything else of particular interest.

Anything happen here while I was away?

(loud laughter)

Q. That was the trouble.

THE PRESIDENT: What? (more laughter)

Q. (aside) Did anything happen here while he was away!

Q. Sir, could you tell us any of your personal impressions of (Marshal Josef) Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: Except that -- that the actual fact of meeting him lived up to my highest expectations. We had many excellent talks. And I was also extremely glad to meet the Generalissimo (Chiang Kai-shek). And on the whole, the mere fact of getting to know those two world leaders, I think it is going to make for excellent relations in the future.

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, would you care to tell us how those talks were conducted? Was it an easy matter?

THE PRESIDENT: Through an interpreter, which of course is not as easy as if I spoke Russian and Chinese and they spoke English, but still we got on all right.

MR. GODWIN: Facile at all?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh Yes.

MR. GODWIN: Back and forth?

THE PRESIDENT: O my, Yes. Yes, yes.

MR. GODWIN: Was it stodgy, or anything of that sort?

THE PRESIDENT: Not stodgy at all, except the answer sometimes came before the translation was finished. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Did you find him -- all we know about him is that picture with a handle-bar moustache, which evidently is out of date.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, that is rather out of date.

MR. GODWIN: What type would you call it? Was -- is he -- is he dour?

THE PRESIDENT: I would call him something like me -- he is a realist.

MR. GODWIN: Yes, he seems to be.

THE PRESIDENT: (laughing) Yes.

MAY CRAIG: Tell us about it. (much laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: May, I don't write no social column.

MAY CRAIG: Tell us about it.

THE PRESIDENT: No. We had an awfully good time -- very successful -- both in Cairo and Teheran.

Q. Sir, does he share your view that there is hope of preventing another war in this generation?

THE PRESIDENT: Very definitely, if the people who want that objective will back it up.

Rather interesting, up at Teheran with Mr. Stalin the Prime Minister and I -- the Chinese of course didn't go to Teheran -- (I saw them) in Cairo -- they figured out that the governments and associated nations that were on our side represented between two-thirds and three-quarters of the entire population of the world, which I thought was rather a significant fact. In other words, world opinion if it ever does count, will count in circumstances like that.

Q. Mr. President, is there any message you would like to give the American people at your first press conference upon your return home?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

I want to say something to you off the record -- that is not for the American people, it is just for the press -- and that is that I am extremely sorry for several occurrences, which are not the fault of the Americans, where releases -- advance information subject to a release date -- were violated. And, of course, it does present an awfully difficult problem. I hope it can be made easier. I hope in the future that there won't be violations, as there have been in the past. We all know it; no particular mystery about it. And the more -- the more I saw it happen, and it happened several times, the more I thought that advance stories for a future release date -- we have got to the point now where -- where they are not -- they are not kept.

And therefore, my thought is that in the future, in order to avoid these -- let's use a polite word: leak -- that we won't do it that way any more, and that, for example, where for some reason or other -- security reason is nearly the only one -- so far as I can make it so, that I would try out a new system, and that is to give them out as spot stories.

If, for example, we agree at Teheran on a statement in regard to the conference, and they start telegraphing it all over the world, it gets picked up by organizations that don't live up to the rule, and it gets picked up by the Axis -- Axis press on the air, and they spread it around -- another method. And I think it would be much more satisfactory if, where there is to be a lapse of time before it can be published, that we would not put it on the wire anywhere, but make it a spot story on the release day. Then the fellow that can get to the telegraph office or radio office, which is like running to the telephone here, you get your stories in a few minutes ahead of the other fellow. It seems to be the fairest way of doing it. So I am sorry to say that the method of trust has not worked, and it isn't -- it isn't our fault, as you all know.

MR. P. BRANDT: Mr. President, can you tell us whether there is prospect of future meetings similar to

Teheran?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, on call.

MR. P. BRANDT: On call.

Q. Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) That would mean anything and nothing, Pete. (laughter)

Q. Mr. President, what did you call Mr. Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: What did you call Mr. Stalin?

THE PRESIDENT: I told him it was a beautiful day.

Q. What?

THE PRESIDENT: I told him it was a beautiful day.

MR. GODWIN: What did you call him? How did you address him?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: How did you address him?

THE PRESIDENT: Marshal.

MR. GODWIN: Marshal.

Q. I see.

Q. Mr. President, since you got back, have you heard anything about Mr. Churchill's condition?

THE PRESIDENT: I got one word through the British embassy this morning, that he had a pretty good night and was a little better this morning. Of course, I was very much worried and still am by it, because it is the second time this year that he has had pneumonia.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, is there anything you can say at this point about the possibility of General (George C.) Marshall's going to Europe?

THE PRESIDENT: No. There isn't any news one way or the other.

Q. Mr. President, in order to carry out your plan for releasing important communiques as spot news, wouldn't it be necessary for you to be accompanied in the future by representatives of the press associations? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Depends on the size of the planes. I didn't have any room this time.

MR. GODWIN: Was there more than one plane?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, there were three planes. I had three planes.

MR. GODWIN: Well, you know these young men that you have dealt with have never violated a release.

THE PRESIDENT: That's right too. That is why I was very careful to say what I did.

MR. GODWIN: That's in the record.

Q. Mr. President, doesn't the matter of who owns the communication systems enter in?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know enough about who owns them. We have got pretty good radio facilities now. I think our North African news, for instance, comes -- radio stuff -- comes through all right -- doesn't have to come through some other place.

Q. Well, what we are getting at, Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about the method of your travels?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think I can put it this way, mostly that when I -- well, I couldn't put it that way because it might disclose something else. (laughter) I went to Teheran in a plane. You can't go there by water. (more laughter)

Q. Did you go anywhere by water, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Did you go anywhere by water?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, now -- now you are asking questions. That's different.

Q. That's what I get paid for. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, one thing that irks me just as much as anyone else, on places and voyages. The Secret Service and the Army and the Navy, they are on my neck all the time for what they call security reasons; and -- and the reason is, when you leave a place and issue a statement, it is obvious you are going away. Well, I would give the thing out right away, if I had my choice, but some places it isn't considered in the best interests of security, because then they would know that you were leaving, and you are always, the whole distance -- you are under -- practically under the range of German planes. And it's like -- like shooting a duck sitting on the water for a -- for a German pursuit plane to go after a transport plane without any guns on it.

Well, for instance -- I don't set much stock in this, but when we got to Teheran I went to the American legation, which is about a mile from the Russian -- they have an embassy there -- compound -- a high wall. And next door to them is the British embassy.

And that night, late, I got word from Marshal Stalin that they had got word of a German plot.

Well, no use going into details. Everybody was more or less upset -- Secret Service, and so forth. And he pleaded with me to go down to the Russian embassy -- they have two or three different buildings in the compound -- and he offered to turn over one of them to me, and that would avoid either he, or Mr. Churchill, or myself from having to take trips through the -- through the streets, in order to see each other.

So the next morning I moved out, down to the Russian compound. I was extremely comfortable there, and it was just another wall from the -- from the British place, so that neither one of the three of us had to go out on the streets, for example.

But of course, the whole place -- in a place like Teheran there are hundreds of German spies, probably, around the place, and I suppose it would make a pretty good haul if they could get all three of us going through the streets -- (laughter) -- that sort of thing. And of course, if it is known -- if your future plans are known, or if they can guess the time because of departure from one place, they can get German pursuit planes over the transport plane very easily.

Q. Mr. President, among the developments while you were away was the call of a railroad strike against the decisions which Mr. (Fred) Vinson (Economic Stabilization Director) turned down. Did you talk to him about that today?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q. Have you gone into it?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I am coming to it later on.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us whether there was a feeling in Teheran that it might be possible to bring about the military defeat of Germany next year?

THE PRESIDENT: Not setting any dates. We are all working extremely well together, all three of us, toward the defeat of Germany as fast as we can.

Q. Mr. President, there was a report, while you were away, that you had seen the Spanish leader, Franco. Would you say anything about that?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I didn't see him.

Q. Mr. President, there also was a story broadcast today over the Dakar radio saying that you had stopped there and conferred with French officials?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I did.

Q. Can you tell us whom you saw there, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: Whom did you see?

Q. Can you tell us whom you saw there, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: The Governor of Dakar, and the Acting Commandant of the Navy Yard, and the Captain of one of the ships. I think that was about all. The Governor is a civilian.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, the -- that same broadcast, as heard by the O.W.I. listening station here, also said you boarded a surface ship there?

THE PRESIDENT: I couldn't tell you. I couldn't tell you about that. I did pass through Dakar. (laughter)

MR. GODWIN: Mr. President, you signed the bill relating to Selective Service -- in the selection of fathers in this country. And in this city it was -- seemed to be that you did what they call "Slapped Mr. McNutt in the face," that is a phrase which they use.

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) I am going to send -- probably going to send a Message on it.

MR. GODWIN: (continuing) Could you say something about that?

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I will send a Message to Congress on it, in regard to various provisions in the bill, because if you read the bill section after section, and page after page, here is what it says essentially, putting it into plain English and not legislative language.

It says that in the draft of fathers, they should go to the bottom of the list, unless the President thinks they ought to be drafted anyway. Now what kind of a piece of legislation is that? That is practically what it says. There is always the provision, "unless the President decrees otherwise," which is a pious thought, but that is about all. It's an expression of the hope on the part of the Congress that fathers will remain at the bottom of the list, and that's all -- an expression of a pious hope.

Well, that part of the bill is no reason I shouldn't sign, but the -- there is one part of the bill which was very -- made -- made for a very poor administration. We had the Director of the Selective Service office and Manpower office side by side, you might almost say they were sitting at the same desk, and the system was going awfully well. And in the draft you have to consider not only the -- the military services but you have to consider all those people who, for various reasons, ought to be put under the -- the Manpower end of things for use in special services, plants, and so forth, positions to which -- where they could be of more use than if they went into the Army or the Navy. And the thing has been going awfully well. It was a consolidation of agencies of the Government that had been successfully effected. It was good administration, because it was two branches sitting side by side at the same desk.

Now, the Congress in its wisdom -- always put that in -- decided that they shouldn't meet any more, that they should be separated from each other, which made it an administrative problem, and not in the right way, because it was going much better under the consolidation of sitting together on it than entirely separated.

Well, what I am working on now -- just talked about it today in Cabinet -- was trying to work out, through

Executive Order, some method by which they would remain separate agencies and follow out the law which says that they are to be entirely separated, but try to work out some liaison between them that will retain as far as we can this excellent working relationship between the two. Well, that -- that is the way -- gist of it.

MR. P. BRANDT: Mr. President, will this speech on Christmas Eve be your full report on your trip, or will you make a later report to Congress?

THE PRESIDENT: I will put as much into the first one, Pete, as I can; and anything that is left over I will put into the Annual Message.

Q. Annual Message.

THE PRESIDENT: What is that, the fourth of January?

MR. EARLY: Yes, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Something like that.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about General Patton?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I saw him in Sicily. I saw him, and General Clark and General Eisenhower went over with me.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) I think probably that you may, although you needn't attribute it to me -- if you want to write a piece, stick in there the story of a former President who had a good deal of trouble in finding a successful commander for the armies of the United States.

And one of them turned up one day, and he was very successful.

And some very good citizens went to the President. "You can't keep him. He drinks."

"It must be a good brand of liquor."

MR. GODWIN: Speaking of drinking, did you attend one of those dinners where they had forty-five toasts? (loud laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I can tell you this, off the record -- (more laughter) -- I can't, because that is a subject that -- liquor -- you don't talk about out loud, you know that.

We had one banquet where we had dinner in the Russian style. Very good dinner, too. Russian style means a number of toasts, and I counted up to three hundred and sixty-five toasts. (laughter) And we all went away sober. It's a remarkable thing what you can do, if you try. (more laughter)

Q. How, Mr. President? (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. GODWIN: How?

Q. How? (more laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: When you go up to those places like Teheran, you learn! (more laughter)

Q. We would like the opportunity.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: (to Mr. Godwin) I made one glass of vodka that big -- (indicating a two-inch width with his fingers) -- last for about twenty toasts -- just about.

(laughter)

(Notebook PC-XVI -- Page 67 -- JR)

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #928
Executive Office of the President
(Tuesday) December 21, 1943 -- 11.10 A.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I am late because I have been trying to find news. I have had Steve (Early) working at it, and he can't find anything. I have been through the Army and Navy news, and there isn't anything.

And this is our last conference before Christmas, and I hope you will all have a very happy Christmas.

I am going to Hyde Park, as you know, but I will be back early next week; and we will have one more press conference in 1943, so this is not the last one of the year.

I literally haven't got any news. I have been working, as you know, with the -- on the railway wage problem. I think the executive committees are all here at the hotel, and I suppose I will see them again this afternoon, as I am free from two o'clock on, so if there is any news that can be given out -- any agreement, or any lack of agreement for that matter -- I hope that we will get it by tonight.

I hope that I will get -- the whole country will get a Christmas present, that there isn't going to be any railroad strike.

I told them all, day before yesterday, that of course a stoppage of transportation in this country would be probably the most serious blow that could be directed against the progress of the war, not only in our manufacturing of the supplies and getting them to the seaboard to ships, remembering on the other side of it that every man that we have got outside of the United States, and there are a very great many of them, has to be supplied from here -- railroads and trucks -- and then put on board ship and taken to them.

And that is why the whole country will be -- will have the best Christmas present they could get, to know that transportation all over the country is going -- going ahead without stoppage.

I have been -- I think all the bills are signed, or vetoed; and the -- about fifty percent of the accumulation of mail during the past four or five weeks has been handled, and I think -- I hope before I leave here for Christmas that I will be able to clean up the other fifty percent.

Outside of that, I can't think of anything.

Q. Mr. President, are you satisfied that there will not be a strike?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. I am waiting. That is what I hope to get -- find out about this afternoon.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about specific proposals of agreement that you have made to the railroad people?

THE PRESIDENT: I think -- Oh, not in detail, because after all this isn't a question of detail as much as it is a question of carrying out the law, at the same time trying to -- to do justice as far as we can.

We have been talking about bringing the railroad wages up above the awards in the two cases -- the operating brotherhoods and the non-operating brotherhoods -- because there was a feeling that relatively these awards did not grant them increases to take care of the increase in the cost of living as much as had been awarded in other occupations.

And I found out last spring, I hadn't known it up to that time, that the bulk of the railroad employees in this country have never had time-and-a-half for their work. Nearly all other labor -- in the factories, for instance, as a matter of national policy, or law, or both -- has been getting time-and-a-half for overtime, but the railroad men have not; and under an old I.C.C. -- not I.C.C., a mediation law, one of the first ones in the case of the railroads, there seems to be a definite exception made in the law.

There are two ways, of course, of handling it. One is by legislation, which would be legal. The other would be handled by agreement between the employees and the carriers. That also would be legal. And I see no particular reason for discrimination, giving it to industrial workers and not giving it to railroad men, many of whom, of course -- I am thinking about the non-operating people and a portion of the operating people who are paid just like anybody else -- why they shouldn't get it as well as the industrial workers. There are -- there is a group, somewhere around a hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand operating people, who have always, since earliest railroad history, been paid on a mileage basis, but it would seem to be possible for them to work out some plans where they would get the equivalent of time-and-a-half. And that is what we are all working on at the present time.

Oh, coming down to dollars and cents, that would make a difference between an increase of four cents an hour and eight cents an hour. And what I am hoping is that when arrangements can be worked out by which -- always within the -- within the stabilization law -- some method like time-and-a-half for overtime not only corrects an inequity but would be probably a fair thing.

And, therefore, I hope that we can work out some method that won't be held up for what I call picayune reasons. The substance of it is there, and it is -- a method of that kind is within the stabilization law. If it hadn't been for the stabilization law, they probably would have got it from these mediation boards in the first instance. But on a straight time basis, if they had got the extra four cents, it would have violated the stabilization law, and I think at the same time would have been inequitable in comparison with -- with other trades. So I hope that they -- the larger view of the picture will prevail ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- this afternoon.

Q. Mr. President, you said that the time-and-a-half thing might differ from the other idea to the extent of four cents to eight cents. Can you amplify that a little bit? You mean that the time-and-a-half would amount to about four cents an hour?

THE PRESIDENT: About four cents an hour.

Q. That would be on top of the four cents which they have already been awarded?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That would be within the intent of the stabilization act.

Q. Mr. President, could you tell us whether you share Mr. Morgenthau's (Secretary of the Treasury) estimate of the tax bill?

THE PRESIDENT: I have no idea what it is, so I can't tell you.

Q. It's a very low estimate. (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: (softly) Says you!

MR. P. BRANDT: Mr. President, General Somervell testified yesterday that in June 1942 you approved the Canol project in Alaska. Did you know at that time how much it was going to cost?

THE PRESIDENT: I -- I couldn't tell you, Pete. I think I did, but I would have to -- I would have to check it up. It was one of those projects to furnish, especially at that time, since the -- since there was likelihood of a great deal of action in -- in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, I approved anything to get a new source of oil up there. It was a war measure distinctly.

Q. Mr. President, I wonder if you could comment on this, sir? Last week, the House put a floor under the price of crude oil of 35 cents, on the basis of eighty percent of parity. In your judgment, does that break down the hold-the-line policy of the Government, or could you comment on it?

THE PRESIDENT: I don'tknow.

Q. Mr. President, there were some stories from London this morning that British and American censorship were preparing plans to ban speculation on the second front, both in this country and in Great Britain in the future. Is that hooked up in any way with your new spot release plan?

THE PRESIDENT: Must have been -- No -- must have been just a London story.

Q. Mr. President, if we could go back to the railway labor, do you think of having legislation to give them the time-and-a-half later?

THE PRESIDENT: No. I told you that you would get it either one way or the other, either legislation or by agreement between the brotherhoods and employers -- the executives.

Q. Well, if you do it by agreement now, do you still want law later?

THE PRESIDENT: It wouldn't be necessary, if you had agreement now. What would be the point? Merely clutters up the statute books some more.

MR. P. BRANDT: Mr. President, isn't that one of the issues involved in the discussions, that the railroad brotherhoods want the legislation?

THE PRESIDENT: That has never come up, Pete. No. Not an issue.

Q. Mr. President, while you were away the

Senate passed the so-called soldiers' voting bill. The house has -- now has it under discussion. Can you give us any comment on that?

THE PRESIDENT: I have no id(ea) -- I haven't read any of the legislation. I have read certain summaries of it.

I have a perfectly simple policy on it -- I think everybody knows -- and that is that every soldier should be given the opportunity to vote, unless the actual circumstances of combat in the combat field prevent his voting. That would be a very small percentage of the total soldier -- soldier vote. That's all.

Q. But ---

Q. (interposing) Do you think the Senate bill would give them that opportunity?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't the faintest idea. I have got a policy.

Q. Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, can you tell us anything about ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, do you think Federal machinery is needed to implement that policy?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Do you think Federal machinery is needed to implement that policy?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I am sure it is.

Q. Mr. President, can you tell us anything about your discussion yesterday with (Major) General (Lewis B.)

Hershey (Director, Selective Service)?

THE PRESIDENT: General who?

Q. General Hershey?

THE PRESIDENT: No. We were working -- working out together a proposed Executive Order to make the last bill workable from an administrative point of view, that's all.

Q. Can we expect that Order before the first of the year?

THE PRESIDENT: I think so.

Q. (aside) Let's go?

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

MR. EARLY: Good conference.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

MR. EARLY: Good conference.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

(May Craig showed the President a Kodacolor print of her five-months old grandchild)

THE PRESIDENT: What's that? Where do you get them in color?

MAY CRAIG: Just buy the little films.

THE PRESIDENT: Really? Awfully nice.

MAY CRAIG: Taken in the backyard.

THE PRESIDENT: Fine. Grand.

CONFIDENTIAL
Press and Radio Conference #929
Executive Office of the President
December 28, 1943 -- 4.07 P.M., E.W.T.

MR. DONALDSON: All in.

THE PRESIDENT: I have got a few things that I think are of interest.

Some more command announcements. Lieutenant General (Jacob) Devers will be the commander of the American forces in the Mediterranean theatre, and also deputy supreme commander to General (Sir Henry Maitland) Wilson in the same theatre.

Lieutenant General (Ira C.) Eaker, who is now in England and has been for some time, will become the allied air commander in the Mediterranean theatre.

General -- Major General (James H.) Doolittle will be assigned to command the Eighth Air Force that operates out of England.

And Major General (Nathan F.) Twining will command the Fifteenth Air Force.

Q. What was that last name, sir?

THE PRESIDENT: Twining.

Q. T-W-I-N-I-N-G?

THE PRESIDENT: T-W-I-N-I-N-G.

Q. Where does the Fifteenth operate from? (the Mediterranean theatre)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I asked -- I asked Major General Watson. He didn't know. (laughter)

Q. Do you have the -- excuse me.

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. Do you have Twining's first name? I am not familiar with it.

THE PRESIDENT: No, I haven't even got that either. Pa? Where is he? He isn't? He ran out on me. (laughter) We'll find out later.

Then, on the railroad strike, I think some of you probably were at the Secretary of War's conference. I wish I could show you the whole book that I got on Monday -- No -- wait -- not Monday -- Friday last from the War Department, with every plan drawn for Federal operation of railroads. It is a remarkable document. All the telegrams that had been drawn beforehand, all the individual people that had been assigned to their respective areas, and actual troop units also been assigned, so that when the thing went into operation, in my Order last night, in practically every area, the thing was in effect by this morning. It is a very excellent illustration of how planning should be done, and why planning pays. The whole thing has been done -- it is -- Oh, I think the Secretary of War told you all about it, probably. I don't know who was there.

Then, on the -- on the railroad strike, there has been no more -- no further news from the three operating unions. I don't know what they are going to do.

Q. Mr. President, in your statement from the White House, it was in line that the Government expected every railroad man to stay on the job?

THE PRESIDENT: They are all employees of the

Government now.

Q. What was that?

THE PRESIDENT: They are all of them employees of the Government now.

Q. Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: In other words, anybody walking out is striking against the Government.

Q. I was going to ask you, sir, have you any reaction or any affirmation on that particular point from the railroad workers?

THE PRESIDENT: No. No.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Too early since last night.

Q. (continuing) --- is it the plan to keep this for the -- those railroads for the emergency?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, for the emergency ---

Q. (interjecting) For the emergency.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- give them back as soon as we can.

Q. (continuing) --- that question, sir, is really ambiguous. Is it for the strike emergency, or for the war?

THE PRESIDENT: No, for the emergency. In other words, I want to turn them back as soon as I can, and if all the -- all the railroad workers stay at work -- go back to work, I don't know that there will be any necessity of keeping them under the control of the Government. However, your question comes awfully close to verging on an "if" question. (laughter)

Q. What is -- what keeps -- what keeps the Government employee working if he doesn't want to work? I mean, that's a mild way of asking the question. Some of these fellows may have said, "We 'ain't' going to work." Is there anything -- does that constitute a problem?

THE PRESIDENT: No. Hasn't yet. I hope it won't.

Q. Mr. President, the F.E.P.C. (Fair Employment Practices Committee) certified the defiance by some Southern railroads and railroad unions to you yesterday. Do you plan to take any action on that while the railroads are in your hands?

THE PRESIDENT: I hadn't heard about it. It would be up to the Secretary of War.

Q. Mr. President, does your answer to the question on the Government's relinquishing the roads mean that as soon as the three operating brotherhoods agree to accept the award they have made ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interposing) No. Now you are getting too "iffy." Wait until something happens.

Q. Mr. President, I think that what is in the minds of the public is, why will railroad men work under Government control when you yourself made the proposal that they continue to work under private control? Where is the difference? Where is the distinction in the mind of the man who would be striking?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't believe that you, Jim -- I don't believe you belong to any union?

Q. I belong to the Typographers' Union.

THE PRESIDENT: That's all right.

Well, it's the same idea that a great many people have in their heads. You take -- if you go back and take the coal situation, now the first thing those coal miners in this country would say is, "I am patriotic, but my union tells me to walk out. Everything that I have got for the last twenty years has been through the union. Comparing my conditions today with what they were twenty years ago, I am afraid I am going to lose these much better working conditions if I don't stick by the union. I got these better conditions by belonging to the union and sustaining it, doing what they recommend, and I can't see my way to throwing away twenty years' work for better conditions in the coal mines and better pay at anybody's plea. I am going to stick by the union."

Now, that is what most people, who belong to the unions, feel; and yet they claim to be a hundred percent patriotic. It might be called an anomaly.

Q. (interposing) Well, Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) It's a very difficult -- a frame of mind for the average worker to deal with.

Q. Is it not a fact that under the Smith-Connally

Act, after the Government has taken it over, you cannot organize or plan a strike?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that is true.

Q. Does the Smith-Connally Act apply to the seizure also?

THE PRESIDENT: To what?

Q. Does the Smith-Connally Act apply to this seizure?

THE PRESIDENT: Sure.

Q. The seizure and the relinquishment by the Government?

THE PRESIDENT: What?

Q. And the relinquishment by the Government? It says sixty days after they have attained efficiency, and so forth.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but -- depends on how you interpret that "after."

Q. Efficient operation.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. That's a question of fact.

Q. Mr. President, there have been -- coming back to the military assignments you announced a moment ago -- there have been reports that Lieutenant General ("Blood and Guts") Patton might go up to the new invasion command in an important post. Is there any basis for that?

THE PRESIDENT: Not on this list. I don't know. I wouldn't -- I wouldn't do much guessing about that. That is old-womanish.

Q. Mr. President, the Prime Minister of South Africa, Mr. (Jan Christian) Smuts, spoke to the American people by radio this afternoon, saying he thought that the United States and other nations could form a good peace after the war by using the United Nations as a foundation, and bringing in the neutrals gradually, or eventually enemy nations when they have been converted.

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't read the thing. It's awfully difficult to comment on something I haven't read. But, of course, it is perfectly obvious that we are building the future around the -- what might be called the corporate status of the United Nations, certain columnists that I have read in the papers to the contrary notwithstanding.

Q. (interposing) Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) Don't use their bean. The trouble ---

Q. (continuing) --- excuse me, sir.

THE PRESIDENT: Go ahead.

Q. There seems to be some question about what is before you to arbitrate in the case of the non-operating unions. Would you care to say what you consider to be before you in that respect?

THE PRESIDENT: I haven't got anything specific before me, because I am trying to get the non-operating unions and the -- and the carriers to agree on the various things that we talked about in arbitration. But so far I haven't got a list of them.

Q. Mr. President, after you get that list, can we expect a decision from the non-operating committees while the Government is still in control of the railroads?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know. That is a constitutional question. I will have to ask Mr. Justice Byrnes.

(to Justice Byrnes) What about that?

JUSTICE BYRNES: The question is as to whether or not these organizations and the Commander-in-Chief or the Secretary of War can fix wages, while he is in control, for the Government. That is not constitutional; but that is a very good question.

Q. Mr. President, ---

(a press release on the foregoing -- edited -- was given to the press after this press conference. What follows here, of course, is not edited)

MR. DOUGLAS CORNELL (Associated Press): (interposing) Mr. President, after our last meeting with you, it appears that someone (Dilworth Lupton, Cleveland Press) stayed behind and received word that you no longer liked the term "New Deal." Would you care to express any opinion to the rest of us?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I supposed somebody would ask that. In the future -- I will have to be terribly careful in the future how I talk to people after these press conferences. However, what he reported was accurate reporting, and -- well, I hesitated for a bit as to whether I would say anything. It all comes down, really, to a rather puerile and political side of things. I think that the two go very well together -- puerile and political.

However, of course some people have to be told how to spell "cat" -- lots of people have to be told how to spell "cat," even people with a normally good education. And so I -- I got thinking the thing over, and I jotted down some things that -- Oh -- a lot of people who can't spell "cat" had forgotten entirely.

And of course, the net of it is that -- how did the New Deal come into existence? It was because there was an awfully sick patient called the United States of America, and it was suffering from a grave internal disorder -- awfully sick -- all kinds of things that happened to this patient, all internal things. And they sent for the doctor. And it was a long, long process -- took several years before those ills, in that particular illness of ten years ago, were remedied. But after a while they got remedied. And on all those ills of 1933, things had to be done to cure the patient internally. And it was done -- took a number of years.

And there were certain specific remedies that the old doctor gave the patient, and I jotted down a few of those remedies. The people who are peddling all this talk about "New Deal" today, they are not telling about why the patient had to have remedies. I am inclined to think that the country ought to have it brought back to their memories, and I think the country ought to be asked too, as to whether all these rather inexpensive critics shouldn't be asked directly just which of the remedies should be taken away from the patient, if you should come down with a similar illness in the future. It's all right now -- it's all right internally now -- if they just leave him alone.

But since then, two years ago, he had a very bad accident -- not an internal trouble. Two years ago, on the seventh of December, he was in a pretty bad smashup -- broke his hip, broke his leg in two or three places, broke a wrist and an arm, and some ribs; and they didn't think he would live, for a while. And then he began to "come to"; and he has been in charge of a partner of the old doctor. Old Doctor New Deal didn't know "nothing" about legs and arms. He knew a great deal about internal medicine, but nothing about surgery. So he got his partner, who was an orthopedic surgeon, Dr. Win-The-War, to take care of this fellow who had been in this bad accident. And the result is that the patient is back on his feet. He has given up his crutches. He isn't wholly well yet, and he won't be until he wins the war.

And I think that is almost as simple, that little allegory, as learning again how to spell "cat."

The things -- the remedies that the old Doctor New Deal used were for internal troubles. He saved the banks of the United States and set up a sound banking system. We don't need to change the law now, although obviously there are some people who don't like saving the banks who would like to change the whole system, so that banks would have the great privilege under American freedom of going "bust" any time they wanted to again.

Well, at the same time, one of the old remedies was Federal Deposit Insurance, to guarantee bank deposits; and yet I suppose there must be some people, because they make so much smoke, who would like to go back to the old system and let any bank, at will, go and lose all their depositors' money with no redress.

In those days, another remedy was saving homes from foreclosure, through the H.O.L.C. (Home Owners' Loan Corporation); saving farms from foreclosure by the Farm Credit Administration. I suppose some people today would like to repeal all that and go back to the conditions of 1932, when the people out West mobbed a Federal judge because he was trying to carry out the existing law of the land and foreclosing a farm; rescuing agriculture from disaster -- which it was pretty close to -- by the Triple A (Agricultural Adjustment Administration) and Soil Conservation; establishing truth in the sale of securities and protecting stock investors through the S.E.C. (Securities and Exchange Commission). And yet I happen to know -- I think I mentioned this several weeks ago -- that there is an under-cover drive going on in this country today to repeal the S.E.C., and "let's sell blue-sky securities to the widows and orphans and everybody else in this country." A lot of people would like to do that, take off all the rules and let old Mr. Skin skin the public again.

Well, we have got slum clearance -- decent housing; and there hasn't been enough done on slum clearance. I don't think that people who go into slums in this country would advocate stopping that, or curtailing the program, although of course a few -- a small percentage of real estate men would like to have slums back again, because they pay money.

Reduction of farm tenancy.

Well, your old doctor, in the old days, old Doctor New Deal, he put in Old Age Insurance, he put in Unemployment Insurance. I don't think the country would want to give up Old Age Insurance or Unemployment Insurance, although there are a lot of people in the country who would like to keep us from having it.

We have -- we are taking care of a great many crippled and blind people, giving a great deal of maternity help, through the Federal aid system. Well, some people want to abolish it all.

And the public works program, to provide work, to build thousands of permanent improvements -- incidentally, giving work to the unemployed, both the P.W.A. (Public Works Administration) and W.P.A. (Work Projects Administration).

Federal funds, through F.E.R.A. (Federal Emergency Relief Administration), to starving people.

The principle of a minimum wage and maximum hours.

Civilian Conservation Corps.

Reforestation.

The N.Y.A. (National Youth Administration), for thousands of literally under-privileged young people.

Abolishing child labor. It was not thought to be constitutional in the old days, but it turned out to be.

Reciprocal trade agreements, which of course do have a tremendous effect on internal diseases.

Stimulation of private home building through the F.H.A. (Federal Housing Administration).

The protection of consumers from extortionate rates by utilities. The breaking up of utility monopolies, through Sam Rayburn's law.

The resettlement of farmers from marginal lands that ought not to be cultivated; regional physical developments, such as T.V.A. (Tennessee Valley Authority); getting electricity out to the farmers through the R.E.A. (Rural Electrification Administration); flood control; and water conservation; drought control -- Lord, remember the years we went through that! -- and drought relief; crop insurance, and the ever normal granary; and assistance to farm cooperatives. Well, -- conservation of natural resources.

Well, my list just totaled up to thirty, and I probably left out half of them. But at the present time, obviously, the -- the principal emphasis, the overwhelming first emphasis should be on winning the war. In other words, we are suffering from that bad accident, not from an internal disease.

And when victory comes, the program of the past, of course, has got to be carried on, in my judgment, with what is going on in other countries -- post-war program -- because it will pay, if we don't go into an economic isolationism, any more than it would pay to go into a military isolationism.

This is not just a question of dollars and cents, although some people think it is. It is a question of the -- of the long range, which ties in human beings with dollars, to the benefit of the dollars and the benefit of the human beings as a part of this post-war program, which of course hasn't been settled on at all, except in generalities.

But, as I said about the meeting in Teheran and the meeting in Cairo, we are still in the generality stage, not in the detail stage, because we are talking about principles. Later on we will come down to the detail stage, and we can take up anything at all and discuss it then. We don't want to confuse people by talking about it now.

But it seems pretty clear that we must plan for, and help to bring about an expanded economy which will result in more security, in more employment, in more recreation, in more education, in more health, in better housing for all of our citizens, so that the conditions of 1932 and the beginning of 1933 won't come back again.

Now, have those words been sufficiently simple and understood for you to write a story about?

MR. BERT ANDREWS (New York Herald Tribune): Does that all add up to a fourth term declaration? (laughter)

THE PRESIDENT: Oh now -- we are not talking about things like that now. You are getting picayune. That's a grand word to use -- another word beginning with a P -- picayune. I know you won't mind my saying that, but I have to say something like that.

(from here on was not released to
the press)

Q. Mr. President, to get back, if you don't mind, did you say that you were not aware that the railroad discrimination case had been certified to the White House; that is, the F.E.P.C.?

THE PRESIDENT: It came in. Jonathan Daniels brought it in today, and I can't tell you anything definite about it; but -- but I think, probably, that I will appoint some kind of commission -- committee, not a commission, it isn't as formal as that, that would get labor, and both myself -- in the North and all kinds -- and the carriers and the brotherhoods together, to see if they can't go about this whole problem on the -- with the object of making some steady progress.

I don't think, quite frankly, that we can bring about the millennium at this time. But as you know, on the race problem, we have made very distinct advances in the past ten years, and I want to continue making advances, although I don't think for a minute that -- but hope we can go all the way.

Q. Will that committee that you suggest have anything that would be contrary to, in any way, to the railway mediation panel, which has, I think ---

THE PRESIDENT: (interjecting) No.

Q. (continuing) --- a commission in there somewhere?

THE PRESIDENT: Have they?

Q. They have a mediation board in there, I think.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, this won't be a mediation process. We are going to try to get them to make agreements.

Q. Mr. President, is there anything you can tell us about your plans for New Year?

THE PRESIDENT: I think I will be still right here, probably writing another Message ---

MAY CRAIG: (interposing) Well, Mr. President, ---

THE PRESIDENT: (continuing) --- to Congress.

MAY CRAIG: (continuing) --- I don't mean to be picayune, but I am not clear about this parable either. The New Deal, I thought, was dynamic, and I don't know whether you mean that you had to leave off to win the war and then will take up again the social program, or whether you think the patient is cured?

THE PRESIDENT: I will explain it this way. I will ask you a question, May.

Suppose -- in eighteen hundred and sixty-five, after the Civil War, there was a definite program arranged for and carried through under the leadership of the Congressman from Pennsylvania (Thaddeus Stevens), who was the leader of the Republican party at that time. That was the policy. It lasted for nearly ten years -- a policy of repression and punishment of the whole of the South. That was the Government policy of the United States. Well, they didn't like it at all -- the country didn't. And finally, after ten years, they threw it out.

Now, do you think that twenty-five years later, in 1890, that we should have gone back to the same old policy? I don't. The country didn't go back to it.

You have a program to meet the needs of the country. The 1933 program that started to go into effect that year, it took a great many years. If you remember what I said, it was a program to meet the problems of 1933. Now, in time, there will have to be a new program, whoever runs the Government. We are not talking in terms of 1933's program. We have done nearly all of that, but that doesn't -- doesn't avoid or make impossible or unneedful another program, when the time comes. When the time comes.

MAY CRAIG: That's the answer.

THE PRESIDENT: When the time comes.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

Q. Thank you, Mr. President.

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